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SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY.

America's Race Problems.

Addresses at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Academy
of Political and Social Science, April 12-13, 1901.

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I. The Races of the Pacific.

The Natives of Hawaii: A Study of Polynesian Charm.

By Titus Munson Coan, A. M., M. D., New York.

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ANNALS
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THE NATIVES OF HAWAII: A STUDY OF
POLYNESIAN CHARM.

By TITUS MUNSON COAN, A. M., M. D.,
Of New York.

The eastern or brown Polynesian race, the Savaioris as they have been called, to distinguish them from other Oceanic races, have very definite characteristics, physical and mental. They are most nearly related to the Cambojan group, "their true affinities being with the Caucasians of Indo-China" (Keane). They are in no way, however distantly, related to the negro. Their habitat is in the southern and eastern Pacific Ocean, where they occupy Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, the Marquesas, Tuamotu, Tokelau, Ellice, Rotuma, New Zealand, the eastern Fijis, Tarawa, Manega, Phoenix and Lagoon Islands, Easter Island, and in the north Pacific the Hawaiian group.

In all these islands and groups, however widely separated geographically, we find a people that is essentially one in blood, language, usages, traditions and religion. They rank high among races. Keane says: "They are one of the finest races of mankind, Caucasian in all essentials; distinguished by their symmetrical proportion, tall stature, aver-

aging five feet ten inches, and handsome features. Cook gives the palm to the Marquesas islanders, 'who for fine shape and regular features surpass all other natives.' " Lord George Campbell remarks: "There are no people in the world who strike one at first so much as these Friendly Islanders [Tongans]. Their clear, light copper-brown colored skins, yellow and curly hair, good-humored and handsome faces,—their *tout ensemble* formed a novel and splendid picture of the *genus homo*; and as far as physique and appearance go they gave one certainly an impression of being a superior race to ours." The Savaioris are similarly described by most of the leading observers. They are also among the kindest, most gentle-mannered and generous people in the world, and but for the oppressions of their priests and kings would have been the happiest.

What are the causes of this exceptional development? Under what conditions, material and psychical, has that development taken place? Only the briefest answer can be attempted here, and that only for one typical group, the Hawaiian. Some of the main conditions of this development were the following:

1. *Geography, orography*.—The largest island, Hawaii, has an area of four thousand square miles; the group stretches four hundred miles from northwest to southeast, and all the principal islands had rival kings. Frequent wars, naval excursions and invasions were the result. The islands are all mountainous, offering secure fastnesses to the contending factions, and the ancient Hawaiians developed a good fighting physique.

2. *Climate*.—The Hawaiian climate is the most equable tropical climate in the world. It is never, as in other tropical islands, excessively hot. The usual range of temperature is from 70° to 80° Fah.; at the sea level it never falls below 55° Fah., nor does it ever exceed 90°. Hurricanes and typhoons are absolutely unknown. This uniformity and this immunity are due to an ocean current from the

north, which tempers the winds and laves the island coasts in an ever-flowing stream at a temperature of about 70°.

The innocent Hawaiian climate favored the habit of outdoor life, which was almost universal, the native huts being used only for sleeping places and for protection from the rain. It also developed aquatic and seagoing habits. The nearness of the islands to each other, the gentle winds, the sea, never violently tempestuous, though often rough, these made the natives the most powerful and daring swimmers in the world, trained them in fishing and seagoing, and tempted them away on long ocean voyages—as far as to the Society Islands, 2,000 miles to the southward. In fishing, too, they became great experts.

3. The *soil* was in large part fertile. This, with the favoring climate, made but a few weeks' labor in the year necessary. The natives did not exert themselves toilsomely in agriculture. Their principal food was the root of the taro; this being nearly all starch, it produced great obesity, especially in the chiefs, who, having much to eat and not much to do, grew excessively fat.

4. *Negative Conditions.*—The total absence of wild beasts and noxious vermin, as well as of destructive tempests and temperatures, was favorable to the psychical development and the genial content of the islanders. Nature had no terrors for them; even the great volcanic eruptions of Mauna Loa and Kilauea, exceeding in magnitude all others on record, were very seldom destructive of human life; nor did the violent earthquakes do more than jostle the grass cottages of the dwellers in this lotos land.

The Hawaiians thus enjoyed, in the main, very peaceable conditions of existence. They were indeed harassed by the tabu and by the wars of their chieftains; but the struggle for life, as known in more densely populated countries, was not known to them. They found time for some forms of culture. They had no plastic art; metals were unknown, and they never attained more than a limited skill in mechani-

cal arts: but in poetry there was an interesting development, in the form of sonorous chants or *meles* couched in a peculiar poetic diction; in these were embodied the exploits and the lives of their heroes, as well as their traditions, mythology, and even their astronomical, botanical and animal lore.

They had a very acute eye for nature. Their language is full of terms for all visible things and doings; but it was little capable of expressing general conceptions, such as time, goodness, temperance, virtue; thus there were many synonyms for rain and sunlight, calm and storm, but no word for weather. This deficiency caused much trouble to the missionaries in the task of translating the Scriptures into the native tongue. The things most valued by the natives in old times were the sticks of Oregon pine, which at long intervals came drifting to the islands from the northwest coast, and were eagerly seized to be fashioned into war canoes. It is said that when the translator came to the passage in the Epistles, reading: "Add to your faith knowledge, and to your knowledge temperance, and to your temperance virtue," he appealed to his native assistant for the Hawaiian word for virtue, which he described as the most desirable of all possessions. The native was puzzled; neither the conception of virtue, as we understand it, nor any corresponding word, existed in Hawaiian; but at last he said: "I understand you now," and gave the missionary a word which made the passage read: "Add to your faith knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance a stick of Oregon pine."

Here then we have a community under most favoring conditions for happiness, a good climate and soil, an abounding sea, and freedom from the terrors of nature. Supported by a few days' labor in the month, the natives had leisure to cultivate poetry, dancing, games, and the social pleasures, together with the virtues of kindness, courtesy, and generosity. "The social and family affections," says Fornander,

"were as strong in the old Hawaiians as in any modern people, Christian or pagan." They divided their possessions with their friends, and took pleasure in doing it. Lazy and greedy persons were not wholly unknown among them; but they had their punishment—they were stigmatized by such terms as *hoapili mea ai*, a friend for the sake of a dinner.

Briefly, here were a happy people. And why? Because they were exempt from the régime of competition—there was food for all; in time of peace at least there was no struggle for life. But why, again, was this? why this exemption from the usual fate of man?

The usual answer is that which we may seem to have given already—the fertile soil, the genial climate, the abounding sea, the entire absence of noxious natural forces. But this, like other usual answers, explains nothing; it is no answer at all. In countries like Java, Ceylon, and large parts of India and China we find natural conditions not indeed absolutely so favorable as these, yet nearly so; but these are the very countries that have suffered terribly from overcrowding and famine. In Hawaii the conditions are those which elsewhere have produced over-population, and its resulting degradation; yet in Hawaii there was no over-population; although they had their hard times they had no destructive famines. During the nineteen years of my residence there, there were sometimes shortages in the taro and sweet potato crops; the natives went into the woods, and dug up a kind of fern that had a succulent, starchy root, and with this and a little fish they eked out an existence; but destructive famines are not in their record.

What then is the explanation of the Polynesian immunity from the struggle for life, and from the misery and debasement that accompany it? Why were not these islands crowded, like countries under the old civilizations, with millions of people whose entire energies are spent in the effort to earn, not a living, but half a living or less?

The data for the answer have long been before the student,

yet the true answer as I think has not yet been given. The ancient Hawaiian's exemption from the struggle for life, and the effect of this exemption on his character, were not due to climate, or to soil, or to any physical conditions; none of these things gave the Samoan, the Tahitian, the Tongan, Hawaiian, his joyous temperament, his winning manners, his generous heart.

Throughout Polynesia the struggle for life was evaded by restricting the natural increase of population. By this restriction the population was kept down to the means of comfortable subsistence; there was food enough for all; the community lived under no economic stress; and in consequence it attained, as we have seen, this remarkable development of genial and generous traits and of material happiness.

Now this has a direct illustrative bearing, as it seems to me, on the greatest of social problems—the lessening of human suffering, the augmentation of human happiness. No sane thinker would advocate a resort to the barbarous and wasteful infanticide of the Polynesians; but in all overpopulated communities to-day, and throughout the world in the not distant future, the great question must be this: How to limit the mere quantity, and how to improve the quality of the population.

To some this problem seems to lack actuality, as long as any corner of the world remains uncrowded; and emigration is proposed as a cure. But, in the first place, emigration on a sweeping scale is an impossibility. Imagine the population of a great city being called upon to emigrate; where are the means to come from? What would become of the people if deported in masses? Few of them could attach themselves to the soil. In a word, the relief of emigration is not feasible except on a limited scale; for more reasons than one, it is impossible in a majority of cases. But suppose emigration were possible. How long would the relief thus given endure? Only for a few years. As commonly after wars and famines, the population would

spring up more rapidly than before, and the gap would soon be filled. Neither in the old world nor the new has the poverty of crowded cities ever been cured by emigration.

Now consider other schemes of alleviating misery, poverty, crime; put any other theory of reform to the test, and you meet the same difficulty. Some theorists regard a better education as a cure-all; some would seek relief in improved legislation, others in a better knowledge of the laws of health; others in finding employment for the poor, in wisely directed charities; others say in morals, the Sermon on the Mount; others in religion, culture, philosophy. All of these are good and desirable, but none of them touch the essential point; none would prevent the overcrowding of the poorer population. Suppose any of these reforms actually carried out. Would any of them, would all of them together, materially check the multiplication of the unfit? The eternal law of Malthus survives; its cruel action is little hindered by any of the popular philanthropies. They have been ineffectual in the past, they will be found ineffectual in the future. The only effective relief of human suffering will be found in checking the multiplication of the unfit—in the intelligent limiting of mere numbers, and the consequent improvement of quality. It is the most difficult of reforms, because both State, Church, and popular opinion (especially among men), are against it, yet it is a problem that grows in importance with each new generation. The restriction of population in France, while it is disadvantageous as long as a nation's virtue is measured by the size of its armies, is a step in the right way.

The reform that is most needed in the world is one of a distant future; it is to look for quality, not mere quantity of life, and to put humane and scientific checks upon over-population. Only in this way will the cruel struggle for existence ever be lessened; only thus will future generations suppress poverty, disease and crime, the vicious circle which is the despair of civilization.

At the conclusion of Dr. Coan's address the following colloquy took place between him and persons in the audience:

DR. MARTIN: Has that restriction of population to the means of subsistence in the islands been continued?

DR. COAN: No. Since the islands have passed under modern civilization, the condition which I mentioned no longer exists. For other reasons the native population is not increasing, but there is no longer that artificial restriction. Indeed, the native government of no long time ago encouraged the raising of large families.

MR. MCGIBBONEY: I have a friend who spent a number of years in Hawaii, who says they not only have no name for sexual virtue, but none of the principles of virtue. Is that true?

DR. COAN: Technically that would be true. That is to say, the Polynesian idea of virtue is different from ours. Some one has said that virtue in Polynesia was regarded as an elegant accomplishment, but not as a necessity.

MR. MCGIBBONEY: Did that circumstance cause the decrease in population since the arrival of the whites?

DR. COAN: I would not say that was the cause; it was due, as Darwin has pointed out, to infertility resulting from changed conditions of living. But the point that Mr. Darwin inquired about was regarding the prevalence of infanticide, and whether male or female children were more frequently sacrificed.

MR. CROXTON: I would like to ask if the present decrease, or lack of increase of population, is not partly chargeable to their having put on clothing?

DR. COAN: Undoubtedly; that was one of their changed conditions of living. The mischief came about in two ways. The docile natives were delighted with the idea of wearing clothes, and nothing gave them more pleasure than the bright-colored calico prints; these would not wash, so they would throw them off when the rain came down, and run into the church half-naked, or more than half, and nobody thought

anything of it. But they wore their clothes quite irregularly; their skins became tender, and, they were constantly catching cold. In my father's great church there was often such a tempest of coughing and sneezing that you could hardly hear his strong voice. Another vice of the clothes-wearing habit was that the natives would not take off their garments when they got wet, and illness resulted from that cause. Epidemics of small-pox, measles, influenza, decimated the people. *Pax vobiscum*, said the priest to the native; *pox vobiscum*, said the sailor and trader. Yet these diseases were not the essentially destructive agencies; they are not now more prevalent there than elsewhere, and the climate is exceptionally healthy. The passing away of the Hawaiians and of the other Polynesians was inevitable from the moment that the first European visitor stepped under the coconut groves. The island character, with its faults, its follies, and its charms, is disappearing under the total régime of the white man. Not until the world shall learn how to limit the quantity and how to improve the quality of races will future ages see any renewal of such idyllic life and charm as that of the ancient Polynesian.

The Races of the Philippines: The Tagals

By Rev. Charles C. Pierce, D. D. Chaplain U. S. Army

THE RACES OF THE PHILIPPINES—THE TAGALS.

By REV. CHARLES C. PIERCE, D. D.,
Chaplain U. S. Army.

The program for this session is unusually accurate in comparison with customary announcements, in that it refers to "The Races of the Philippines" rather than to "The Filipinos." The word "Filipino" is a misnomer unless it is used in the sense prevalent in Manila. Strictly speaking, a Filipino is one born in the Philippine Islands, regardless of parentage. The word is not definitive of race or nationality. In accurate use it merely marks the place of birth.

In the same way it is inaccurate to refer to the "Filipino *people*," as has so often been done, with a display of vocal pyrotechnics, in the campaign against the American occupancy of the islands. When we speak of a "people," there is involved in the term some idea of political cohesion or national fusion. Such a condition may be developed during future decades if the paternal government shall foster the idea, but at the present time there is such a heterogeneous array of tribes, about eighty in all, that a "Filipino people" cannot be said to exist.

"The Races of the Philippines" is, then, a much more fitting denomination of the inhabitants of our far-off possessions, and in the debates upon the wisdom of annexation with which our people will amuse themselves for months to come, it were well to have this distinction between a people and an aggregation of races kept constantly in mind. For, given "a people," we are well on the road toward a discussion of the question of self-government; but, as in the present case, where the premise is unable to state the existence of "a people," the argument for popular sovereignty cannot logically proceed.

There is a Tagal people, and it is of the Tagals that I am asked to speak, as one of the races of the Philippines; a people among whom I have lived for two and a half years.

I do not remember having heard of any discussion of the desirability of granting independence to the Tagal people. So far as I have noted the alleged argument, it has been practically one in behalf of the propriety of giving the Tagals the right to govern all the tribes in the archipelago.

In every discussion, the diversity of tribes and dialects must be borne in mind, as well as intertribal prejudices and animosities.

So wide is the gap between the Tagals and the Macabebes, for instance, as to make the hatred hereditary, and our government, in using the latter as scouts, has but adopted a rule of warfare which racial antipathies have made advantageous and by which Spain had formerly profited.

One of our house-boys at the headquarters house of the Fourteenth Infantry, who belonged to another tribe, accounted it a gross insult to be mistaken for a Tagal. Between the Visayans and the Tagals no love is lost.

The Igorrotes, those mountaineer neighbors of the Tagals in Luzon, were so little influenced by the glimmer of Aguinaldo's dictatorship that they steadily refused to make common cause with him. When found, with their bows and arrows, facing American troops at the beginning of hostilities, they declared that this alleged Washington (?) had deceived them; having invited them down to a feast, only that they might encounter American bullets and so commit and entangle themselves as to be drawn into battle. The ruse failed and the breach between Tagal and Igorrote widened.

The Tagal is not even the original possessor of the land. He is a Malay or of Malay descent; an alien. This consideration is also important, as it deprives him of the right to the sympathy sought in his behalf by those who have never seen him, on the ground that our government of the archipelago robs him of his political birthright.

The Tagal tribe is not aboriginal. The first known inhabitants were the Aetas or Negritos; a race of small stature, but otherwise much resembling the African negro. And the present tribes are the result of Malay incursions and probably amalgamation between the native and the immigrant.

If sympathy is to be shown on the ground of original claim to territory, it should be given to the Negritos, who still may be found, with their nomadic habits, or serving as menials in Tagal families.

The fact that the Tagals were intruders, or the product of such intrusion, may deprive them of the right to some measure of sympathy heretofore accorded them in certain quarters, and yet their appearance on Philippine soil was doubtless one of the first steps leading to ultimate civilization; the Spanish conquest was another; and now the American occupation, with its breadth of ideas, its advance in ethics, and its adaptation to the wants of an aspiring population, is destined, we believe, to complete the evolution of civilization, and to weld a people, to prepare them for suffrage and to lead them on to the highest of civic attainments—the ability to govern themselves.

The Tagals are not alone in the possession of the single island of Luzon. There are the Pangasinanes, numbering 300,000; the Pampangoes, with quite or nearly equal numbers, the census of 1876 quoting their population as 294,000; and others. The Tagal population, mainly in Luzon, though found in some other islands also, numbers 1,500,000. The Visayan population in 1877, exclusive of the less domesticated tribes in the Visayan group, was 2,000,000. So that the right of the Tagal to dominate the politics of the archipelago must be further modified by the consideration that his race, with all its degrees of mixture, constitutes only one-sixth of the population.

The discussion of native traits is made difficult by the fact that it is hard to find the original Tagal, unmixed in blood or influenced by racial environment.

The advent of the foreigner has added a new factor to the racial problem, and the Mestizos, or people of mixed blood, are found in considerable numbers. It is a curious ethnological study, this mixture of Malay and Mongol, and the racial amalgamation which combines European and Asiatic characteristics in the same personality.

The Mestizo-Espanol, or the mixture of Spanish and native blood, numbering not less than 75,000, and probably very many more, presents the type of native aristocracy—the people who measure their superiority by the lightness of their complexion, and who habitually refer to the pure-blooded natives in disdain or commiseration as “Indios” or Indians.

Foreman, in a few words characterizes them: “We find them on the one hand striving in vain to disown their affinity to the inferior races, and on the other hand jealous of their true-born European acquaintances. A morosity of disposition is the natural outcome. Their character generally is evasive and vacillating. They are captious, fond of litigation, and constantly seeking subterfuges. They appear always dissatisfied with their lot in life and inclined to foster grievances against whoever may be in office over them.”

The Mestizo-Chino, or the mixture of Chinese and native, who represents a population of half a million in the archipelago and fully one-sixth of the population of the city of Manila, may be referred to as the commercial type, although many of the Spanish Mestizos have likewise achieved success in business.

The Mestizo-Japones, or Japanese mixture, while represented in much smaller numbers than either of the other classes, presents a famous type of quaint Oriental beauty.

But it seems to be the ethnologic law that miscegenation involves an eclecticism in vices, and it is not strange to read from the pen of a Spanish writer that these mixtures have not yet accomplished much for the moral welfare of the people. He says: “We have now a querulous, discon-

tented population of half castes, who, sooner or later, will bring about a distracted state of society and occupy the whole force of the government to stamp out the discord."

Aside from the Mestizo element, it is hard to find the original characteristics of the Tagals. For instance, they are referred to as being an innately religious people, but the Roman Church has been among them for four hundred years, and it is not easy to say how much of this religious habit has been acquired. Certainly the form of its manifestation is markedly so. The law under which the Tagal has lived has for centuries been either Spanish or that of the Roman Church, and the most gradual change must, in the lapse of these centuries, under this environment, have produced mighty modifications of native character.

American opponents of annexation have in a few foolish cases painted the Tagal as measuring up with Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Penn or Lincoln, those phenomenal products of the highest civilization on earth. These men have seen a vision in some "iridescent dream." Life in the Philippines will dispel it.

On the other hand, some who have suffered severely will proclaim everything bad in native character; that they would not believe a Filipino upon oath, nor trust him in a trifle.

No race is as bad as its worst member nor as good as its best. The true type of Tagal, as we find him, is a composite of the good and the bad traits of character, either inherent or imitated.

Looking at the subject more in detail, let us consider the Tagal:

1. *Socially*.—Entering a native dwelling, the stranger is always impressed with the hospitable spirit of its inmates. He is made to feel that his presence is an honor. And so universal is this trait of native character, that one always meets it, whether in the more pretentious case of the wealthy Mestizo or the little nipa shelter of the poor. All that the family can afford is ever at the disposition of the guest.

Cigars or cigarettes are in every house, and with a few exceptions, are used by every native, regardless of sex or age, and an abundant supply will at once be forthcoming. Chips of the betel nut, wrapped in buyo leaf and smeared with lime (the native substitute for tobacco chewing), will ordinarily be presented unless it is known to be distasteful to the visitor. "Dulce," a generous name which covers every variety of sweets, preserves or confections, will also be provided beyond the capacity of the guest. Then some form of drink,—cervesa or beer, certain of the wines of Spain or Portugal, or anisada, that vile product of Philippine fermentation, will be placed before him.

It will be a profitable reflection for those who are engaged in a laudable effort to prevent the bestialization of native races by foreign alcoholic importations, to consider that the gratification of Bacchanalian proclivities is very rarely dependent upon the question of importation. Most races have discovered for themselves some method of producing alcoholic stimulation. The Japanese make merry with their saki; the Russians, with their vodka; the Mexicans, with mescal and tiswin; the Cheyennes, with a red berry which they guard most jealously; the Apaches, with their too-dhlee-pah-ee; the Igorrotes, with fermented cane-juice; the Pampangoes, with a fermentation of the nipa palm; and the Tagals, with this vicious fire-juice that bodes as great ill to the American as foreign liquors do to the Tagals. But regardless of the value of the offering, the spirit of generous hospitality is there and it is universal.

The visitor is always impressed with the beautiful, glossy black hair of the natives, which, in the case of the women, is commonly very long, as well as with the regularity of their pearly teeth, the latter, alas, ruined in symmetry and soundness in the case of the inveterate betel-chewer, and taking on, successively, a stain from red to black.

Great care is given to the hair, which is frequently washed with a native weed well worthy of American importation,

and afterwards glossed copiously with cocoanut oil. The latter imparts a rather disagreeably rancid odor to the hair, but is undoubtedly of value, as the natives claim, in checking the ravages of an insect which has a short English name, but among the natives, is as formidable as the technical name of *Pediculus Capitis* would suggest. The sight is so common as to lose all novelty, as natives everywhere reciprocate in attention to each other's hair, and without any sense of shame, in the communistic effort to suppress the ravages of this pest. The picture is so close a reproduction of the action of the monkeys, which likewise abound, as to suggest a Simian ancestry or tutorship for man. I have known Tagal women to manifest profound surprise when told that our American ladies are not all similarly beset, and to laugh most heartily at an intimation that they would be likely to go into mortified seclusion if one poor pest should trouble them.

The beautifully erect carriage of the women, which attracts the attention of the traveler, is largely a contribution to their physical welfare by the character of their labor; the custom of carrying water jugs and other burdens upon the head, necessitating the stiffening of the spine and a throwing back of the shoulders, as well as a proper elevation of the head.

The Tagal woman goes to the opposite extreme from her Chinese sisters, and gives to her naturally small feet full play and development by wearing sandals that do not bind at any point. And, unlike the women of the Occident, she does not bind herself at the waist, nor is she physically injured by the fickle goddess of the fashion-plate, which requires her to change her shape every four or five years to fit the dresses which are built for her. Always erect and unfettered, nature builds her form, and her loose, flowing costume, while there may be variety in texture and adornment, is of unvaried shape and will leave her at the end to go back into the hands of her Maker undeformed.

I doubt if ever more quaintly beautiful costumes or a more attractive scene have been witnessed than at the Mestizo reception given by the first American commission at their home in Malate; the scintillation of countless diamonds adding to the tropical splendor.

These natives are great bathers, and while it would conduce to more universal cleanliness if soap were always used, they stand, as a race, as close to godliness as water alone can place them. They seem almost to be amphibious. The washer-women stand waist deep in water all day long. The fishermen walk about in the water, sometimes neck deep, as they ply their trade. The fish must have taught the people to swim, so naturally do they glide through the stream. Even the boys and the girls are often expert divers, and consider it an easy way to earn money, to dive for coins that are thrown in the water. I have seen the men descending a ladder from their boats to the bottom of a stream, with buckets for dredging, and emerging only when these were filled with mud. It has been reported of them that they have dived under ships to ascertain whether the keels have been damaged, and that in case of trouble they have gone under the water to repair defective sheets of copper, driving in two or three nails each time before emerging for a breath of air.

The imitativeness of the people is both a tribute to their quickwittedness and also an acknowledgment of the superiority of the races whom they copy. The lavish use of face-powder, which, on occasion, turns perspiration into paste, has often seemed to me a pitiful appeal from the women for deliverance from racial inferiority.

No sooner had American troops appeared, than the Tagal soldiers, by watching them, had learned our drill tactics and were applying them in the instruction of their recruits. The children, everywhere in the streets, were doing the same and many of them were soon able to faultlessly execute our manual of arms.

This imitative ability, which is a very marked character-

istic of the people, is an evidence of a lack of originality and suggests a present inability for the duties of self-government, and at the same time it is a most hopeful factor for the United States in the effort to exemplify the form of liberal government and to tutor the people until they shall be able to practice it.

The gambling propensity of the people is not indicative of a desire to take life very seriously. They are exceedingly fond of games of chance. Lotteries and raffles are popular. I have seen their so-called billiard halls crowded with men day after day, while the women toiled at home to make good the monetary deficiency. Racing is everywhere prevalent, not only on the race-courses but also on the streets. The ordinary native coachman cannot resist the temptation to have a race on the streets, even though his conveyance be a public one. But it is in cock-fighting that the native finds his most engrossing amusement, and the "galleras" or cocking-mains are always scenes of intense excitement and spirited betting. It is the commonest of sights to see the native carrying his favorite rooster with him when he goes to his place of work or for a visit. My own cocher, having invested in a game-cock of apparently good points, deemed me incomprehensibly fastidious because I objected to riding through the streets of Manila to the palace of the governor-general with the bird perched on the dash-board in front of him. He afterward told me that his rooster had killed several combatants and had won \$300.

The old Spanish law permitted marriage between girls of twelve years and boys of fifteen. I know of one case where one of these young husbands became disgusted because his wife persisted in taking her doll to bed with her, and he broke the habit and the doll at the same time. The courtship as a rule takes place in the presence of a chaperon. There is an unwritten law that a young man and woman must not ride in the same vehicle unattended, but the natives were quick to commend the liberal spirit prevailing among

Americans in these matters, as soon as their astonishment had passed away.

Civil marriage, though once decreed, was by some influence rendered inoperative, and the ceremony always took place when, where, and as the priest willed. Each of the parties gave to the other a ring, and coin was also used symbolically in the ceremony to indicate the bride's endowment by her husband.

It is somewhat puzzling to the American who may have legal dealings with the natives, that the married women customarily sign their maiden names. Should the husband die, the woman frequently adds to her own maiden name the words, "widow of —." A man adds his mother's maiden name to that of his father, after his own Christian name. Thus the recently captured dictator wrote on the visiting card which he gave me the name "Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy."

Family ties are very dear to these people and their home life is of such sweet simplicity as to captivate the stranger. At the sounding of the vesper bell and the lighting of the tapers, the children all come to kiss the parents' hands and say good evening. Even as you ride along the streets, if it becomes dark enough to light the side lamps of your vehicle, so soon as they are lighted, even though he has been conversing with you a moment before, your coachman will lift his hat to you and say "good evening, sir."

Just as I was leaving Manila it began to be noised abroad that the Americans, wearied with the vacillation and treachery of many of the surrendered insurrectos, and determined to end the inordinately long rebellion, were about to adopt the deportation policy and send the offenders to Guam. So great was the native consternation at the mere rumor, that it was very easy to foresee what has since become evident, that this threatened rupture of family ties would be most effective in promoting peace.

2. *Industrially*.—Industrially considered, the Tagal often proves a vexing person. That the land is not all cultivated,

the existing industries fully developed and new ones started, and that the natives are not rushing with American energy to get at their tasks, are all facts, but there are ameliorating considerations which must lighten the severity of their condemnation for indolence and shiftlessness.

Their Malay ancestry would not naturally be prophetic of great physical vigor, and the climatic consequences of long-continued life in the tropics inevitably appear in a disposition to take things easy. There is always a tropical tendency to make haste slowly, and to adopt the "manana spirit" of putting off till to-morrow everything which interferes with present comfort. It is very easy, and equally wise, to fall into the siesta-habit and doze away in some protected spot the hours from noon till 2 p. m. When we first entered Manila and until the American energy forced a change, the stores were all closed during these hours and it seemed as if the world had gone to sleep.

There must also be added to a consideration of the depression and enervation of climate the fact that there was no incentive to industry under the old régime. So heavy was the tax upon improvements that the native did not care to make them. The land was made to enrich adventurers who were clothed with brief authority. The history of the tobacco monopoly from 1781 to 1882, more than a century, had we the time to relate it, would show a despicable brutality on the part of Spain and at the same time suggest a reason for the native failure hitherto to make much of the natural resources of the country.

The people have my sympathy in their lack of industrial development, and I am sure that the next decade will witness a marvelous advance because they are permitted to profit from their own labor. The substitution of paternalism for piracy on the part of the government will open the way for the development of industrious habits.

And yet there has been industry already, commensurate with the promised gain. Various fabrics are manufactured,

as well as hats of fine texture and quality. The culture of tobacco and the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes has already reached large proportions. The laborious culture of rice, when it is considered that every little blade in the paddy fields must be transplanted by hand, speaks volumes for the native patience. The fisher-folk, with their immense contributions to the popular diet, are worthy members of their craft. There are mechanics, too,—wheelwrights, blacksmiths, turners, carvers, carpenters, painters, stonemasons, machinists, engineers, shoemakers and others—bread winners, and demanding recognition by the student of industrial capacity and development among this people. And, as elsewhere, woman has her function in the industrial salvation of her race, and, whether we find her as a fisherwoman, or vending the products of sea and land; taking her place in the paddy fields or assisting in the culture of tobacco and its preparation for sale and use; as seamstress, or bending from early morning till late at night over the low frames in which her exquisite embroidery and drawnwork are done; she is doing what she can and will do more when it becomes worth while.

3. *Politically*.—Viewing the Tagal politically we fail to see on what basis men can predicate his capacity for self-government. The idea of independence was unknown in the earlier insurrection, when Aguinaldo sold himself to Spain in the treaty of Biaknabato. That insurrection was caused simply by an overmastering desire to accomplish certain reforms, such as the ejection of the friars and the secularization of education, and yet there was no proposition to lower the Spanish flag.

If the Tagal is capable of self-government, the knowledge must be intuitive, for he has had no tutorage, having been kept always in most subordinate places. He has had no example. There has been before him no type of enduring government. He has seen only a government that was falling by the weight of its own clumsiness, and losing its grip

on every colonial possession in the on-coming palsy of its own corruption. As a result of it, the native has never gotten beyond the idea of *quid pro quo* in government. He expected always to pay the American officials for every act of justice or consideration, as he had paid the Spaniards, and in so far as the insurrectionary Tagal has had control in Luzon, the policy has been one of loot and taxation and oppression worthy of the days of Spain. He lives in the typhoon area, and even aside from the hopelessness of his governing the other tribes, his moral atmosphere is such as to produce revolutions within his own territory,—as may be inferred from Aguinaldo's changes, from general to dictator, from dictator to president, assassinating Luna to cut short his rivalry, and again becoming dictator before his capture. It is never wise to build theories and try them on men, but rather to measure the man and make theories that will fit him.

4. *Religiously*.—Formerly the natives were pagans, but nearly all are, at least nominally, members of the Roman Church.

There is everywhere manifested a fatalistic spirit, and the native, when told that his friend must die, will shrug his shoulders and say "Dios quiere," "God wills," and that ends the discussion.

Many superstitions cling to the people. The more ignorant native trusts implicitly in some form of "n'ting n'ting," or mysterious hieroglyphic which, if worn constantly on his person, will ward off disease and death. The Roman custom of wearing scapulars seems in some way connected in their minds with this primitive belief, and the women particularly, will often deck themselves with a half dozen scapulars, with an evident reliance on numbers.

There must have been a popular belief that Aguinaldo possessed some choice bit of "n'ting n'ting," for I have been told by Tagals, with utmost solemnity, that he was absolutely impervious to bullets; that they would be deflected

by his anatomy as readily as by a stone wall. His headquarters have always been so far to the rear as to render tests impossible.

Great reliance is placed on images and relics. One of my first offices was to secure for a native nun the hand of San Vicente, which had been placed in the custody of the provost marshal general for safe keeping. It has since been within reach of the people, who attribute to it miraculous ministry in behalf of the sick. Pilgrimages, too, frequently take place, the Tagals visiting mainly, although there are others, the Virgin of Antipolo, in search of certain physical and spiritual relief.

It is not surprising that at least a nominal Christianity is prevalent. Ramon Reyes Lala, a native and a Roman Catholic, writes that he has "often seen delinquent parishioners flogged for non-attendance at mass." And the supreme court edict in 1696 imposed a penalty of twenty lashes and two months' labor upon the Chinese-Mestizos and others who failed "to go to church and act according to the established customs of the village." The female delinquent endured a month's public penance.

Many of the Tagals share the belief of the Tinguianes that the soul absents itself from the body during sleep, and that sudden awakening must be avoided, through the fear that the soul might fail to get back in time and so be compelled to wander alone.

Like all partially civilized people, these are fond of display, adornment, and ceremonial, and the Roman Church has been thoughtful in this respect in providing a patron saint for every puebla and in arranging frequent fiestas.

5. *Morally*.—Morally, the Tagal has puzzled many students by his peculiar freaks. Foreman quotes from the testimony of a priest who had spent many years in Batangas province. He says: "A native will serve a master satisfactorily for years and then suddenly abscond, or commit some such hideous crime as conniving with a brigand band to murder the family and pillage the house."

Duplicity, falsehood and theft abound. That the native conscience has not been better educated along these lines, is probably due to the fact that the Spanish colonial government, as they saw it, was constantly exemplifying the same vices.

The Oriental characteristic of extortion is nowhere better illustrated than among the Tagals, who understand the "pound of flesh" theory, that they are to be paid exactly as nominated in the bond, and who are content with such payment, but when the indulgent employer offers even a trifle beyond, will clamor loudly for a great deal more. For any sort of service or commodity it is still the custom to make a racial distinction in prices. A native coachman once told me with smiling suavity that he should charge me one dollar for my short ride; that he would have charged a Spaniard fifty cents, and a native forty cents—every man according to his means; that Americans had plenty of money and could pay more. Under the Spanish law he was entitled to exactly twenty cents.

The modesty of the women is marked, and yet there is no false modesty. Their attitudes are always decorous. Guests must never see them without the customary *panuela* or neckerchief. And yet they talk innocently of many subjects that would shock the propriety of parlor gatherings in America.

The pride of the women in child-bearing is notable, and a discussion of the matter among acquaintances is not at all inappropriate.

Marital fidelity, at least on the part of the women, is the rule. Prostitution is not unknown, and instead of the civilized system of divorce, they have a substitute, in the system of marriage by contract, under which the parties remain together, month by month, just so long as each is satisfied and the bills are paid. People living in this state are not looked upon with the same degree of disfavor as the ordinary prostitutes.

Cruelty to animals is an unfortunate blot upon native

character. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals has fallen heir to a magnificent mission beyond the Pacific.

6. *Educationally*.—Reference has frequently been made in America to the slight percentage of illiteracy among the Tagals, and while it is true that large numbers of the people can read and write, it is also true that the whole educational system under Spanish auspices was very much of a sham. Very little of the ordinary common school curriculum in America found its way into a Tagal school. With a total outlay of \$238,650 in 1888, for educational work in the whole archipelago, and the payment of about fifteen dollars Mexican, for a teacher's monthly stipend, it would seem that the real work of education had scarcely been attempted. The teaching of doctrine was the main result of the system, although there are three or four schools of excellent grade under the control of the church.

The deficiency in the line of popular education is not due to any defect in the Tagal mind. Brilliant men were formerly in danger of death or deportation.

The desire of the Tagal children for a knowledge of English is one of the most encouraging signs, together with the hope of the parents that they may be tutored to the very limit of their ability; a hope whose fulfilment is being provided for by the very liberal appropriations of the Taft Commission and the able planning of the superintendent, Dr. F. W. Atkinson.

The Tagals want the American public school, and it is destined to prove a mighty factor in their evolution and our peace.

7. *Artistically*.—The native wood-carving in the Jesuit Church in Manila and elsewhere, gives evidence of much ability.

I have often looked at Luna's celebrated painting, "The Blood Compact," which became the property of the Spanish government, and could not wonder that his people regarded

him as a master. Another masterpiece from this Tagal hand was purchased by the city of Barcelona, after having been awarded the second prize at the exhibition in Madrid.

I have always held that no one can be regarded as hopeless who loves music. If this be true, there is everything to hope from the Tagal people, for their love of music is universal and their musical genius extraordinary. Herein is large opportunity for their imitative powers, and they make extensive use of it. A great many of them have learned to play by note, but a multitude of others make marvelous progress in simply playing what they hear. American and European ballads are heard in the majority of native homes. Occasionally one is found with something of the genius of a composer, and if only the training could be added that would help the man to realize his conception, the world would begin to know it. Bands and orchestras everywhere abound. The bass drummer is the leader, and the ability to play by ear enables the musician to do as good work in the dark as in the light.

One of my pleasantest remembrances of ante-insurrectionary days is of a serenade from the Pasig Band of some seventy pieces, as they stood around the house in the dark and played for our pleasure one difficult selection after another, and as faultlessly as the most fastidious could desire.

There is often a shortage in musical taste, as when an orchestra plays "The Star Spangled Banner" at the elevation of the host during mass, or when the band at a funeral strikes up "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town To-night." But it is all-important to have so universal a musical instinct. The matter of taste will receive attention and education from American enthusiasts later on.

8. *Pathologically*.—The ravages of disease among the Tagals often result from lack of care, lack of knowledge and neglect of the simplest principles of sanitary science.

Small-pox has always been a scourge during the hot season, or at the close of winter, but there was formerly no

system of quarantine, and one might as easily meet a case in the street car as anywhere else. The American occupation has resulted in greatly reducing the sick rate from this cause.

Leprosy has been of more frequent occurrence than was necessary. For, while certain leper hospitals were established, there was no very earnest effort at segregation. The Emperor of Japan sent a cargo of lepers to the islands at one time. The American authorities have been arranging for a leper settlement on one of the smaller islands and with careful handling of the subject will doubtless check the spread of the disorder.

Death in child-birth is very common, and infantile diseases, during the first month, prove fatal in about 25 per cent of cases.

Intestinal disorders are particularly to be dreaded because of their virulence and stubbornness.

Anæmia and its results among women is a fruitful source of danger. In so many cases disordered menstruation follows and its neglect saps the very foundation of health.

Pulmonary disorders are of more frequent occurrence than is ordinarily supposed.

Cutaneous diseases are exceedingly common, whether produced by the prevalent fish diet, as is often claimed, or not. I have heard it stated many times that syphilitic disorders are very widespread. But I have seen so many of these alleged syphilitic sores healed by a free use of soap and water, or by some simple antiseptic preparation, as to convince me that in a majority of cases, they are caused by scratching mosquito bites or abrasions of the skin with an unclean finger-nail.

Dobee itch—the name being derived from the Hindu word dhobi, signifying a washerman—is probably a common cause of the scratching habit among the natives, and has harassed many Americans of scrupulously cleanly ways. It is truly a washerman's itch, and is transmitted to the foreigner by the hidden germs in his laundered clothing, clean

as it may appear when it returns from the wash. The washer-folk, despite all advice to the contrary, will persist in using cold and often dirty water for all laundry purposes, and will not subject the linen to the boiling process. The result to the wearer of the clothing is often a maddening irritation of the skin, which will spare neither low born nor those of high degree.

Verily, laundry in the Philippines is a lottery, and one never knows whether the remnants of his underwear which are brought to him after they have been clubbed and pounded on the rocks by his native laundryman are bringing him a heritage of cutaneous irritation and muscular activity or not.

When American methods prevail, as one day they will, in Luzon, the itch of the dobees, like the oppression of the Dons, will be but a dream of long ago.

Much remains to be done for the Tagal from a medical point of view, but he has already been blessed with wonderful sanitary improvement since Manila became an American city.

Conclusion.—Without any attempt at exhaustive treatment, for a very great deal remains to be said, I have endeavored to give some hints that may be helpful in forming an estimate of Tagal life and character.

And now a final word as to this newest baby in our political family. We didn't expect him, but we have him. We don't like his complexion or his features, but he may outgrow them. He hasn't been a good baby thus far, and we've lost a lot of sleep on account of him. He's been a costly mortal, but that is not unusual. And, after all, we begin to like him just a little, and look forward to the time when we may take paternal pride in his achievements.

The Semi-Civilized Tribes of the Philippine Islands

By Rev. Oliver C. Miller, A. M., Chaplain U. S. Army

THE SEMI-CIVILIZED TRIBES OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

By REV. OLIVER C. MILLER, A. M.,
Chaplain U. S. Army.

Having spent over a year with the advance guard of our army in the Philippines, I had an opportunity to see much of the natives. From my deep interest in them, I always esteem it a privilege to write anything that will tend to make their condition better understood, and advance them in that development for which I have found them eminently fitted. It must be remembered that one cannot see the best of a people after they have been actively engaged for over four years in trying to throw off the oppressive Spanish yoke, and who were, at the time I was among them, for the lack of a right understanding of the kindly intentions of our government, in a state of rebellion against our own flag.

To see the people of any country one must go beyond the seaport towns, far into the interior. This I had an opportunity of doing; often being with the first American troops that had been seen in the land, from Northern Luzon to the Sulu group.

I want to state at the very beginning of this article, that I have become very fond of the races of the Philippines. And, after traveling both in China and Japan I can truthfully say that I prefer them to any foreigners I have ever visited. What makes them so interesting is that one is relieved of that sameness which is so manifest in other foreign countries. Each tribe, and, indeed, each section of the same tribe, presents something new.

Our brave General Lawton, whose chaplain it was my privilege to be, well understood and loved these people. No man could fight them so hard, and none could excel him in their protection and right treatment when once they were

subdued. He saw with prophetic eye the splendid susceptibilities of the people of the Philippines. And their love for him is still unceasing. The following incident tells of their devotion to him: A few months ago, while the writer was standing at his grave in our beautiful Arlington, a number of visitors gathered around, and while speaking of our fallen hero there was no heart more moved with sorrow than that of a Filipino student who happened to be there.

The races of the Philippines have their failings, but they have been dreadfully misrepresented. No one who has made a study of the human heart and acquired a God-like sympathy and compassion for the frailties of mortals, or who at all understands the Fatherhood of the race in God, or the brotherhood in His Son, can fail to see the uplifting, Divine mission of America in the Philippines. Our greatest danger is with ourselves, lest we fail in those excellencies of character which qualify us to teach and lift up those who have not had the same opportunities. Our greatest need in these days of territorial expansion is *characterial* expansion. The maintenance of our own integrity and uprightness of character must qualify us to be teachers of others. The Spanish government has made mistakes enough along these lines to last for ages.

While speaking of the semi-civilized tribes, we must not fail to mention the thousands of uncivilized people who look up to us for their first lessons. These are scattered over all the islands, and usually dwell upon the mountain tops. Chief among them are the Negritos, supposed to be the aborigines. They are very dark, with curly hair—a puny, stupid race of Negroid dwarfs, and capable of but little development; most likely destined to disappear before the advance of civilization. To this rule, however, the Igorrotes are likely to prove an exception, as they are a splendid race physically. In some localities they are already asking for English schools. These uncivilized tribes vary in different parts of the archipelago, and are usually of a low order; but

rarely ever hostile to strangers, though frequently at war among their own tribes. They are found in great numbers, and are compelled by the semi-civilized tribes to seek the mountain tops for places of abode.

Since the Igorrotes form the link between the uncivilized and the semi-civilized tribes it may be well for us to give a brief description of them. They are scattered about the mountain tops of the northern half of Luzon. They are of a copper color, wear their hair long, have high cheek-bones, broad shoulders and brawny and powerful limbs. The men have strong chests and well-developed muscles of great strength and power of endurance. The women have well-formed figures and rounded limbs. Both sexes wear their hair cut in a fringe over their foreheads, reaching down to the eyebrows and covering the ears, and left long enough in the back to be gathered up into a knot. Their dress varies from a mere apron to a handsome jacket of blue, crimson or white stripes. While the word Igorrote has come to be synonymous with heathen highlander, it must not be forgotten that this tribe in many places manifests some degree of civilization. Tattooing is very common among them, and in central Benguit, where they worship the sun, one can hardly find a man or woman who has not a figure of the sun tattooed in blue on the back of the hand. They manufacture quite a number of crude-looking articles, such as short, double-edged swords, javelins and axes.

They are great smokers, and drink a beer made of fermented cane-juice, but have not adopted the Malayan custom of chewing buyo. There is a settlement of Christian Igorrotes on the coast of Ilocos Sur. This, however, is the one exception to their constant determination to resist any effort on the part of the Catholic Church to convert them to Christianity. They express no desire to go to the same heaven as the Spaniard, since the officers and men composing the expedition sent against them in 1881 so abominably abused their women.

The richest man among them is usually made chief, and the wealthier families vie with one another in a display of wealth at their great feasts; the common people among them not being invited, but only allowed to assemble at beat of drum. Their houses are built upon posts above the ground, or supported by four trunks of trees, and thatched with canes or bamboo and roofed with elephant grass. They are much inferior to the houses of the domesticated natives, having no chimneys or windows; only a small door, the ladder to which is drawn up at night for protection against their enemies. Though superior in some respects to the Tagals, they are much inferior to them in regard to cleanliness. They neglect to wash their clothing or clean their houses. Each village has a town-hall, where the council assembles to attend to the litigation for the community, such as administering punishment to the guilty and hearing requests for divorces. At this place also the public festivals take place, and are very unique and interesting. Their language consists of several dialects, and some of their head men coming in contact with the Ilocanos have learned to speak and write their language for the purpose of trading. Some twenty years ago they conducted seven schools in Lepanto, which were attended by six hundred children, of whom one-sixth could read and write. Writers who know them best give them credit for great industry and skill in everything they undertake. They possess many manufactured articles, embracing uniforms, weapons of war, sword belts, medicine pouches, accoutrements for their horses, beautiful woven garments for the chief women, ornamented waterpots, great varieties of hats, and waterproof capes made of the leaves of the anajas. They abound in ornaments, such as necklaces made of reeds, the vertebræ of snakes, colored seeds, coronets of rattan and of sweet-scented wood. The "chachang" is a plate of gold, used by their chiefs to cover their teeth at feasts or when they present themselves to distinguished visitors. They excel

in the manufacture of household articles and musical instruments.

The Tinguianes dwell in the district of Elabra, Luzon; and were under the Spanish control. In their advance toward civilization they surpass the Igorrotes, and are entitled to be classed among the semi-civilized tribes. They prefer to make their own laws and usually abide by them. The head man of the village is the judge, and upon assuming his office he takes the following oath: "May the destructive whirlwind kill me, may the lightning strike me, and may the alligator devour me when I am asleep if I fail to do my duty." As a race they are very intelligent and well formed, many of them being really handsome. They are supposed to have descended from the Japanese, shipwrecked upon the Philippine coasts; like the Japanese, they wear a tuft of hair on the crown of their heads, tattoo their bodies, and blacken their teeth. They are very fond of music, and are pagans without temples, it being their custom to hide their gods in the mountain caves. They believe in the efficacy of prayer to supply material needs,—are monogamists, and their children are generally forced to marry before the age of puberty. The bridegroom or his father must purchase the bride. They live in cabins on posts or in trees, sometimes sixty feet from the ground. When attacked they throw down stones upon their enemies, and by this method of protection they can dwell quite securely. Like all head hunters, they adorn their dwellings with the skulls of their victims, carry a lance as a common weapon, and are without bows and arrows. They appear to be as intelligent as the ordinary subdued natives; and are by no means savages, nor entirely strangers to domestic life. Thus far their conversion to Christianity has proven impossible.

In the Morong District of Luzon there is a race of people who are supposed to be descendants of the Hindoos who deserted from the British army during their occupation of Manila, and migrated up the Pasig River. Their notable

features are black skin, aquiline nose, bright expression and regular features. They are Christians, law-abiding, and more industrious than the Philippine natives. They were the only class who paid their taxes, and yet, on the ground that generations ago they were intruders on the soil, they were more heavily laden with imposts than their neighbors. In addition to these a few Albinos are to be seen on the islands.

The Pampangos are a most interesting tribe, dwelling mainly in the provinces of Pampanga and Tarlac. In 1876 they numbered 294,000. Their language differs from that of the Tagal, and many of the better class speak both languages. This tribe is much like the Tagal in character, and the difference comes largely from environment and occupation. The Pampango excels in agriculture, is a good organizer of labor, rides well, is a good hunter, and makes a bold and determined sailor. The Spanish used them to great advantage as soldiers in fighting against the Moros, British and Dutch. They have many fine houses, and are a good class of natives. The traveler will never fail to find them hospitable. Their principal industry is the cultivation of sugar, and from it they make considerable money, notwithstanding the great disadvantages experienced on account of the unfavorable conditions imposed upon them by the government of Spain. When peace is once restored, hardly any people in the archipelago will be found to excel them in thrift, with the favoring opportunities given under American occupation. They are classed among domesticated natives, are converts of the established church, and manifest a considerable degree of civilization. These people and the surrounding half-savage tribes are, perhaps, the largest dealers in the most important product, nipa palm, used so extensively in house-building as a thatching, both for sides and roof. The juice of the plant is also fermented and distilled, and produces abundant alcohol in the strongest form.

The Pampangos may well be accounted the best horsemen among the natives. Some of them hunt the deer on ponies,

and chase at full speed up or down the mountains, no matter how rough, and often get near enough to throw or even use the lance in hand. Their saddles are of a miniature Mexican pattern, and their ponies, about twelve or thirteen hands high, are strong and enduring, as was shown by their carrying the heavily accoutred American cavalymen, over what might be termed impassable roads, with almost as much ease as the large American horses.

The women of this tribe deserve a word of special mention. So great is their faculty for business that the men rarely venture upon a bargain without their help. They are fine seamstresses, very good at embroidery, and excel in weaving silk handkerchiefs with beautiful borders of blue, red and purple. They produce the celebrated Manila hat in its best form and texture, together with many other useful and beautiful articles of this kind. Their houses are kept clean, and are quite spacious; the floors being made of close-grained hard wood, which makes them very desirable for dancing after having been polished.

The Pangasinanes, dwelling in the province of Zambales, Luzon, number about 300,000. They are not as hard working as the Ilocanos, and were subjugated by Spain and brought into the established church. They are a hardier race than the Tagals. Their chief occupation is the cultivation of rice, which is the lowest class of agriculture and practiced by the poorest people. A little sugar is produced by them, but it is of poor quality. At one time they exported indigo and sapan wood. Their chief industry is the manufacture of hats, hundreds of thousands of which have been sent from Calasias to this country; they are made from "nito," or grass. The mountain streams are washed for gold by the women; but only a meagre supply is found. A writer who has studied them rather closely says: "Their civilization is only skin deep, and one of their decided characteristics is a propensity to abandon their villages and take to the mountains, out of reach of authority."

During all the time I was with the advance guard of our armies in Luzon, under Generals McArthur, Young and Lawton, I found no people I liked as well as the Ilocanos. The following incident will show how teachable and trustworthy they are: While with the Fourth Cavalry guarding the town of Carringlan, a mountain pass separated by many miles from any other command of our army, two hundred bolo men came in to recapture the town; but they were soon taken by our men, disarmed and quartered in the village church. By means of interpreters I began to talk with them, told them of our kind intentions, and encouraged them to hold religious services according to their form. This they did regularly and devoutly. Before two days had passed they were our allies. And when fifty per cent of our men were taken ill with the dengue fever they proved very valuable and willing helpers.

The Ilocanos are a hard-working race dwelling in north-western Luzon, extending over the province of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur and La Union, and branching into the surrounding country. They are classed among the domesticated natives, and have for three centuries been under the control of the Catholic Church, to which they are very devoted. They are less inclined to insurrection, and it can safely be said that they have given the authorities of our country the least trouble. They are very tractable, and will doubtless excel most of the tribes of the archipelago when brought under the just administration to be given by the American people. The Ilocanos also make nets for fish and for deer and pigs; baskets of all sorts, and *salacots* or hats.

They grow two kinds of cotton for textiles—the white and the coyote. Another kind, a tree cotton, from the boboy, is only used for stuffing pillows. They extract oil from the seeds of all three kinds. Like the other natives, they live principally on rice and fish, which they capture in large quantities. They have fine cattle, which they sell to the Igorrotes. It will be noted that the Tinguianes, on the

other hand, sell cattle to the Ilocanos. The ponies of Ilocos are highly valued in Manila, where there is a great demand for them. They are smaller than the ponies of other provinces, but are very hardy and spirited and travel at a great pace. Tulisanes formerly infested these provinces and found a ready refuge in the mountains when pursued by the cuadrilleros, or village constables, who were only armed with bolos, lances and a few old muskets. But the creation of the civil guard, formed of picked officers and men, who were armed with Remingtons and revolvers, and whose orders were, "Do not hesitate to shoot," made this business very dangerous, and the three provinces now suffer little from brigandage.

Even in this hasty review the Cagayanes are worthy of mention. They inhabit the Babuyanes and Batana Islands, and the northern coast of Luzon from Point Lacaytacay to Punta Escarpada and all the country between the Rio Grande and the summits of the Sierra Madre as far south as Balasig. They are spoken of as the finest race in the islands, and as having furnished the strongest resistance to the Spaniards. They were, however, early conquered and converted to Christianity.

Of all the tribes the Macabebes are best known to the Americans, on account of their eagerness at the first opportunity to fight under the Stars and Stripes. Their territory lies directly north of Manila Bay in the Province of Pangasinana. An old feud existing between them and the Tagals has to this day kept the tribes in bitter enmity. This has doubtless in a great measure influenced them in taking up arms with the Americans against the Tagals. They did excellent service as scouts in the advance made by General Lawton, under the leadership of Major Batson, proving themselves fearless and efficient. Many of them having been in the Spanish army were already drilled. They have proved themselves loyal and trustworthy, and now constitute a most efficient command known as the Philippine Cavalry.

They are somewhat difficult to control when once they have their enemy within their power, having a propensity to loot and to inflict cruelties not justifiable according to the rules of war. They are very enduring and, going barefoot, can excel the American in mountain climbing and fording rivers. Physically they are a well-formed race and present a fine appearance as soldiers. They are so dreaded by the insurgent soldiers that the notification of their approach is apt to result in a panic on the part of their enemies. They are an agricultural people and have no marked distinguishing characteristics, being in many ways like neighboring tribes. The tribe could not furnish more than 2,500 able-bodied soldiers. The women are very loyal to our government and esteem it a privilege to give their sons and husbands to our army. The Macabebe priests also have shown loyalty to the Americans. We should not forget what it means for this people to take a stand for us, surrounded as they are with those at enmity with us.

We speak of the domesticated natives in contradistinction to the wild tribes of the mountains and the people springing from intermarriage with them. The origin of the former is uncertain. The generally accepted theory is that they first migrated from Madagascar to the Malay Peninsula. Some trace their origin as far as Patagonia; others say they descended from the aborigines of Chile and Peru. This idea is rendered plausible by the fact that people have been carried westward by east winds and currents, while there is no record of their having been carried in a contrary direction toward the archipelago. The most universally accepted theory is that they came from Malesia to these islands, and in course of time supplanted the aborigines in control of the coasts and lowlands. These people number about five millions. They proved a most tractable race in the hands of their oppressors.

A proper estimate of these people cannot be formed by seeing them in the seaport towns, where they have been

changed by coming in contact with other nations. They can only be successfully studied by abiding with them in the interior. For instance, much of the native population of Manila has descended from prisoners released by the Spaniards on the promise that they would serve them without remuneration. The natives of the interior are a most interesting study for the ethnologist, ever varying in moods and localities. In judging of their character it is only just to remember that with any people violent oppression brings out lawless resistance. We cannot tell how far this trait has been developed by the Spaniard, or by the direct rays of the tropical sun, which frequently causes the native to excuse himself for infidelity or cruelty by saying, "My head was hot." Many who have dealt with the natives in the interior have found that confidence begets confidence, and that to confide in them and show them by kind and just dealings that they can trust you, is to develop trustworthiness in them. Surely the teaching of the Spanish was especially calculated to develop traits of suspicion and treachery, and even to make such impression pre-natal.

Whether it be a peculiarity of the race, or the result of education, it is quite true of the Filipino that if you "give him an inch he will take an ell," but when treated with justice, tempered with kindness, he becomes an apt pupil in learning the better way. In every transaction with the Filipino one must constantly keep in mind the disadvantageous surroundings under which he has become as good as he is. He surely started with a considerable amount of integrity to have any left at all, after more than three centuries of cinch and grind from a nation whose object seems to have been to get all out of their colony and give back little or nothing. The native is not apt to return anything he has borrowed unless demanded. He regards a debt more as an inconvenience than as an obligation, and will often, when loaded down with debts, make a great show of riches to impress his neighbors. They are fairly honest, and as a general thing steal

only when pressed by need. Their courtesy approaches that of the Japanese. Often when paying a visit to a friend they spend as much as three minutes in complimentary dialogue before entering. It is considered a gross violation of the rules of etiquette to step over a person while asleep on the floor. They are much opposed to awaking any one from sleep, actuated by the idea that during sleep the soul is absent from the body, and if one be suddenly awakened it might not have time to return. For this reason a native, when told to awaken you at a certain hour, is loath to do it, and goes about it with much caution. Often when calling upon a person the servant tells you he is asleep, that is considered sufficient reason either for you to wait or call later on. The foreigner soon finds that it is best for him, on account of climate, to fall into the habit of the native in enjoying a siesta from twelve to two o'clock daily.

The clashing between Europeans and the natives is often caused by the difference in mental cast and impulse, and if one constantly makes allowance for this he will soon find that he can get along very well with them. One finds in the native a lack of sympathy. The Tagalog, however, is more sympathetic than the Visayan, who usually exhibits a frigid indifference to the misfortunes and sorrows of others, bearing his own with great composure. Mr. Foreman states that wherever he has been he has found the mothers teaching their children to regard the Europeans as demoniacal beings, or at least as dreaded enemies. If a child cries it is hushed by the exclamation "Castilia" (European). This dread for the approach of the European was intensified in the case of Americans by the accounts given the natives by the Spanish. The native in the interior, when approached by the American soldier, fell upon his knees and begged for mercy, expecting to be at once put to death, and could hardly be induced to arise. When ill, they could not be persuaded to take medicine from the hands of the American soldier until convinced that the surgeon did not mean to poison

them, by his taking in their presence the same kind of medicine he offered them. When our soldiers would approach a native mother with her children she would gather them around her, and the whole group fall down trembling and close their eyes that they might meet their death without seeing the supposed murderers. It will take time to clear away these misunderstandings, but when once they give way to the truth, and the native sees for himself and believes in the kindness and justice that exist for him in the American heart, it will be a great step toward a peaceful relationship between the two nations.

Like most Orientals, the Filipino is more imitative than original, and readily changes from one occupation to another. His cruelty to animals is manifest in all his dealings with them, and he is generally unfeeling to a fallen foe. The mutilation of a vanquished enemy is a common occurrence. He is credulous and easily imposed upon, transmits a report with amazing rapidity, and often fails to keep a secret; not inclined to joke, he is quite festive in his nature. If angered he does not show it, but calmly awaits his time for revenge. If convinced by his own conscience of his wrongdoing he will receive punishment without the least resentment, but if not convinced of his guilt he cherishes his wrath and awaits opportunity for resentment. They, as a general thing, do not regard lying as a sin, but rather as a legitimate and cunning device which should be resorted to whenever it will serve the purpose. This same trait is found among the Spanish in the Philippines. Whether the native receives it by instruction or inheritance is a question. The priests say that the natives carry their disregard for the truth even into the confessional. Both sexes are very fond of litigation.

Of the more advanced races, the Tagalog has made greater progress in civilization than the Visayan of the south. This is due most likely to the fact that they have been brought more into contact with the European. They also exceed the Visayans in disinterested hospitality, and

are more cheerful and pliant where they have not been brought under the influence of the bitter spirit of rebellion. The tribes of Northern Luzon are perhaps the most tractable. The natives of the southern islands are more resentful, conceited, unpolished, and manifest a sullen defiance, which is not found so much in their northern neighbors. They, however, are more self-reliant and manifest quite as much or more strength of character than the Tagalogs, and are not so emotional and easily influenced. When once you win their confidence they are likely to be more stable in their friendship. The Visayans exceed the Tagalogs in avariciousness and fondness for display, especially in the line of jewelry. The women, as a rule, are very reserved, especially in the south, but throughout the archipelago they maintain a high standard of morals. Infidelity on the part of the wife is rarely found.

The Visayans are the people inhabiting the six islands lying between Luzon and Mindanao, known as the Panay, Negros, Cubu, Bohol, Leyte and Samar, and quite a number of smaller islands. They differ in many respects from their northern and southern neighbors, and have made less progress in civilization than the Tagals. The cold hospitality of the Visayan, often tempered with avarice, forms a sharp contrast with his more open-hearted Tagal brother. The Visayan women care far less to become acquainted with a stranger, especially if he be a European. When such a one calls at their home they will saunter off and hide; however, if the caller be well known, they are quite genial. If met by chance they are not likely to return a salutation, and they seldom indulge in a smile before strangers, or have conversation with them. They have had no advantages in instruction beyond that of music and the lives of the saints. They impress the traveler with an insipidity of character which does not at all correspond with the air of superiority and disdain they exhibit.

It must, however, be observed that these characteristics

apply to the Visayans in the interior more than to those in the coast towns, where they have been brought in contact with foreigners and are decidedly more genial. But it must be acknowledged that the Visayan is more tenacious of the customs of his forefathers and slower in taking up with new ideas and customs than the Tagalog. This is not altogether a racial peculiarity but a result of not being geographically situated so as to be brought in contact with the outside world, as are their northern neighbors. This conservative trait of Visayan character finds an illustration in the following narrative: A wealthy European merchant had married a beautiful Visayan wife and taken her to a home elegantly furnished according to European standards. But the Visayan beauty found such surroundings uncongenial, and it was with difficulty that she could be induced to put in an appearance when European visitors were to be entertained. She would often decline to sit with them at the table, preferring to sit on the kitchen floor and eat, after the custom of her people. The Tagal women are very apt imitators of European customs, and often make ludicrous efforts in this direction. The same contrast is presented by the men of the two races.

The importance of the Visayan people is destined to increase, not only on account of the great resources and fertility of the islands they inhabit, but on account of their emigration to Mindanao, where any amount of rich land awaits the coming of the husbandman. These people are sure to be a great factor in the development of resources and the improvement of opportunities to be found nowhere else in the world. Owing to the unprogressive spirit of the Spanish no census of these people has been taken since 1877, at which time they were found to number over two millions, the population of Panay being the largest. The Visayan Islands contain fewer heathen than any other part of the Philippines. The above estimate of the population of the Visayan Islands does not include the Negritos, Munaos

and Carolanos, wild tribes whose numbers are increased by a number of fugitives from justice and others who are inclined to a savage life and given to the love of plunder. The Province of Iloilo is said to contain half a million people of the domesticated native type. The mountains of the Visayan Islands, not being as numerous or high, do not furnish the same refuge for the wild tribes as those of Northern Luzon, therefore these tribes are fewer in number.

The most numerous and, after the Tagals, the most important race in the Philippines is that branch of the Visayan, formerly called Pintados or painted men, from the blue painting or tattooing which was prevalent at the time of the conquest. They form the mass of the inhabitants of the islands called Visayas, and of some others.

Another branch of the Visayans, distinguished by a darker color and by a curliness of the hair, suggesting some Negrito mixture, occupies the Calamianes and Cuyos Islands and the northern coasts of Paragua or Palawan as far as Bahia Honda.

In appearance the Visayans differ somewhat from the Tagals, having a greater resemblance to the Malays of Borneo and Malacca. The men wear their hair longer than the Tagals, and the women wear a patadion instead of a saya and tapis. The patadion is a piece of cloth a yard wide and over two yards long, the ends of which are sewed together. The wearer steps into it and wraps it around the figure from the waist downward, doubling it over in front into a wide fold and tucking it in securely at the waist. The saya is a skirt tied at the waist with a tape, and the tapis is a breadth of dark cloth, silk or satin, doubled round the waist over the saya.

In disposition they are less sociable than the Tagals, and less clean in their person and clothing. They have a language of their own, and there are several dialects of it. The basis of their food is rice, with which they often mix maize. They flavor their food with red pepper to a greater

extent than the Tagals. They are expert fishermen, and consume large quantities of fish. In smoking and chewing betel they resemble the other races of the islands. They are great gamblers, and take delight in cock-fighting. They are fond of hunting, and kill numbers of wild pig and deer. They cut the flesh of the latter into strips and dry it in the sun, after which it will keep a long time. It is useful to take as provision on a journey, but it requires good teeth to get through it.

The Visayans build a number of canoes, paros, barotos, and vintas. They are very confident on the water, putting to sea in their ill-found and badly-equipped craft with great assurance, and do not come to grief as often as might be expected. Their houses are constructed similarly to those of the other inhabitants of the littoral.

Early writers accuse the Visayan women of great sensuality and unbounded immorality, and give details of some very curious customs which are unsuitable for general publication. However, the customs to which I refer have long become obsolete among the Visayans, although still existing among some of the wilder tribes in Borneo. The Visayan women are very prolific, many having borne a dozen children, but infant mortality is high, and they rear but a small portion of them. The men are less sober than the Tagals; they manufacture and consume large quantities of strong drink. They are not fond of the Tagals, and a Visayan regiment would not hesitate to fire upon them if ordered. In fact, the two tribes look upon each other as foreigners. When discovered by the Spaniards they were to a great extent civilized and organized in a feudal system. Tomas de Comyn formed a very favorable opinion of them. He writes: "Both men and women are well mannered and of a good disposition, of better condition and nobler behavior than those of the island of Luzon and others adjacent."

They had learned much from Arab and Bornean adventurers, especially from the former, whose superior physique,

learning and sanctity, as coming from the country of the prophet, made them acceptable suitors for the hands of the daughters of the rajahs or petty kings. They brought with them the doctrines of Islam, which had begun to make some converts before the Spanish discovery. The old Visayan religion was not unlike that of the Tagals. They called their idols Dinatas instead of Anitos. Their marriage customs were not very different from those of the Tagals.

The ancestors of the Visayans were converted to Christianity at or soon after the Spanish conquest. They have thus been Christians for over three centuries, and in constant war with the Mohammedan pirates of Mindanao and Sulu, and with the Sea Dayaks of Borneo. However, in some localities they still show a strong fondness for witchcraft, and practice secret heathen rites, notwithstanding the vigilance of the parish priests.

The Moros now extend over the whole of Mindanao and the Sultanate of Sulu, which comprises the Sulu Island (thirty-four miles long from east to west and twelve miles in the broadest part from north to south) and about one hundred and forty others, more than half of which are inhabited. The population (according to Mr. Foreman) of the Sulu Sultanate alone is about 110,000, including free people, slaves, and some 20,000 men at arms under orders of the Dattos. The domains of the Sultan reach westward as far as Borneo. The Sultan of Sulu is also feudal lord of two vassal Sultanates in Mindanao Island. Only a small coast district of this island was really under Spanish empire, although Spain claimed suzerainty over all the territory subject to the Sultan of Sulu, by virtue of an old treaty, which was never entirely carried out. There is also a half-caste branch of Moros in the southern half of Palauan Island (Paragua) of a very peaceful nature, nominally under the rule of the Sultan of Sulu. The United States forces have not yet been sent to these islands. They were gratuitously ceded to Spain by the Sultan about 1730 at the request

of the Spaniards. The only Spanish possession at the time of the evacuation was the colony of Puerta Princesa on the east coast, which is a good harbor and affords a fine outlet for the products of the fertile land surrounding it.

The Moros also inhabit the Tawi Tawi Islands, the most southerly of the Sulu group, lying only five degrees north of the equator. The Spanish assaulted these islands in 1751 under a decree ordering them "to exterminate all the Mussulmans with fire and sword, to extinguish the foe, burn all that was combustible, destroy the crops, desolate their cultivated lands, make captives and recover Christian slaves." The captain and his men went ashore, but their retreat was cut off and they were all slain. The officer in command of the expedition was so discouraged that he resigned. The entire assault proved a great failure, and shows that the inhabitants of these islands possess the same warlike traits as the Moros of the other islands. The Moros were for centuries among the sea pirates of history, the most unconquerable. They defied the Spanish sailing men-of-war with their light "prahus" and "vintas" by keeping in the shallow water, where they could not be approached, and awaiting opportunity to cluster around a solitary man-of-war and take her by boarding. It was the introduction of steam gunboats in 1860 that broke the power of the Moro pirate fleets. Their towns, like the city of Brunei, are mostly built in the water, and have bamboo bridges, which can be removed, to connect them with the shore. Their "cottas," or forts, are built on rising ground near by and protected by reefs that make the approach by water difficult. The stockades are made of trunks of trees; some of their walls being twenty-four feet thick and thirty feet high, are defended by brass and iron guns. An attempt to storm these cottas is met by the Moros, who mount the ramparts and make a brave defence, firing grape from their cannon until the enemy comes near enough, when they hurl their spears upon them from a surprising distance and with

accurate aim, manfully fighting till they drive off their assailants or die in the attempt. When once they have put their enemies to flight they fall upon them in a dreadful hand-to-hand conflict in which quarter is neither asked nor given.

If the history of the Spanish-Moro wars were written it would be of great interest and would show many a Homeric combat. It must be said of the Spanish soldiers that they meet their dreadful foes with equal courage. Sometimes the priests with crucifix in hand would bravely lead their half-savage converts against their oppressors amid showers of spears and bullets. The head of a priest was considered a great prize by the Moro warriors. The soil of Mindanao has been literally drenched in the blood of Moro, Spanish and native in this long-drawn-out and awful conflict between the Cross and the Crescent. The malaria of the Moro land seems to fight for its inhabitants by exempting them from its attacks and setting furiously upon all others who invade the mangrove swamps and flooded jungle. In all justice it must be said that not superior valor, but the invention of modern weapons of warfare, checked the ravages of the Moro, and that the Spanish opened the way and made possible peaceful American occupation. It is strange but true that to-day a man may carry the American flag with greater safety through the land of the Moros than through any other part of the Philippine Archipelago. Mr. Sawyer in his new book gives the following interesting statements: "It is a striking instance of the irony of fate that, just as modern weapons have turned the scale in favor of the Spaniards in this long struggle and brought the Moros within measurable distance of subjection, when only one more blow required to be struck, Spain's oriental empire should suddenly vanish in the smoke of Dewey's guns and her flag disappear forever from battlements where (except for the short interval of British occupation, 1762-63) it has proudly waved through storm and sunshine for three hundred and twenty-eight

years. Such, however, is the case; and it now falls to the United States to complete the task of centuries, to stretch out a protecting hand over the Christian natives of Mindanao, and to suppress the last remains of a slave-raiding system as ruthless, as sanguinary, and as devastating as the annals of the world can show."

II. The Causes of Race Superiority

ANNUAL ADDRESS

**By Dr. Edward A. Ross, Professor of Sociology in the
University of Nebraska**

(65)

THE CAUSES OF RACE SUPERIORITY.

Annual address by DR. EDWARD A. ROSS,
Professor of Sociology in the University of Nebraska.

The superiorities that, at a given time, one people may display over other peoples, are not necessarily racial. Physical inferiorities that disappear as the peoples are equalized in diet and dwelling; mental inferiorities that disappear when the peoples are levelled up in respect to culture and means of education, are due not to race but to condition, not to blood but to surroundings. In accounting for disparities among peoples there are, in fact, two opposite errors into which we may fall. There is the equality fallacy inherited from the earlier thought of the last century, which belittles race differences and has a robust faith in the power of intercourse and school instruction to lift up a backward folk to the level of the best. Then there is the counter fallacy, grown up since Darwin, which exaggerates the race factor and regards the actual differences of peoples as hereditary and fixed.

Just now the latter error is, perhaps, the more besetting. At a time when race is the watchword of the vulgar and when sciolists are pinning their faith to breed, we of all men ought to beware of it. We Americans who have so often seen the children of underfed, stunted, scrub immigrants match the native American in brain and brawn, in wit and grit, ought to realize how much the superior effectiveness of the latter is due to social conditions. Keleti, from his investigations in Hungary, has come to the conclusion that in most of the communes there the people have less to eat than is necessary to live and work, the result being alcoholism, weakness, disease and early death. Atwater, on the other hand, has found that the average wage-worker in New England consumes more food than health requires.

What a host of consequences issue from this one primary contrast !

A generation ago, in the first enthusiasm over the marvels of heredity, we were taught that one race is monotheistic, another has an affinity for polytheism. One race is temperamentally aristocratic, while another is by instinct democratic. One race is innovating and radical, another is by nature conservative. But it is impossible to characterize races in respect to such large complex traits. A keener analysis connects these great historical contrasts with a number of slight specific differences in body or temperament. For example, four diverse traits of the greatest social importance, namely, progressiveness, the spirit of adventure, migrancy and the disposition to flock to cities, can be traced to a courageous confidence in the unknown coupled with the high physical tone that calls for action. Similarly, if we may believe Signor Ferrero, of two equally gifted races the one that is the less sensual will be inferior in æsthetic output, less apt to cross with lower types, more loyal to the idea of duty, better adapted to monotonous factory labor, and more inclined to the Protestant form of religion. It is only by establishing fixed, specific differences of this kind that we can hope to explain those grand race contrasts that enchant the historian.

The first cause of race superiority to which I invite your attention is a physiological trait, namely, *climatic adaptability*. Just now it is a grave question whether the flourishing and teeming peoples of the North Temperate zone can provide outlets for their surplus population in the rich but undeveloped lands of the tropics. Their superiority, economic and military, over the peoples under the vertical sun is beyond cavil. But can they assert and profit by this superiority save by imposing on the natives of the tropics the odious and demoralizing servile relation? Can the white man work and multiply in the tropics, or will his rôle be limited to commercial and industrial exploitation at a safe

distance by means of a changing, male contingent of soldiers, officials, business agents, planters and overseers?

The answer is not yet sure, but the facts bearing on acclimatization are not comforting to our race. Immunity from the fevers that waste men in hot, humid climates seems to be in inverse ratio to energy. The French are more successful in tropical settlement than the Germans or the English. The Spanish, Portuguese and Italians surpass the French in almost equal measure. When it comes to *settling* Africa, instead of merely exploring or subduing it, the peoples may unexpectedly change their rôles. With all their energy and their numbers the Anglo-Saxons appear to be physiologically inelastic, and incapable of making of Guiana or the Philippines a home such as they have made in New Zealand or Minnesota. In the tropics their very virtues—their push, their uncompromising standards, their aversion to intermarriage with the natives—are their destruction.

Ominous, on the other hand, is the extraordinary power of accommodation enjoyed by the Mongolians. Says Professor Ripley: "The Chinese succeed in Guiana where the white man cannot live; and they thrive from Siberia where the mean temperature is below freezing, to Singapore on the equator." There are even some who believe that the Chinaman is destined to dispossess the Malay in south-western Asia and the islands of the Pacific, and the Indian in the tropical parts of South America.

There is, indeed, such a thing as acclimatization; but this is virtually the creation at a frightful cost of a new race variety by climatic selection. We may therefore regard his lack of adaptability as a handicap which the white man must ever bear in competing with black, yellow, or brown men. His sciences and his inventions give him only a temporary advantage, for, as the facilities for diffusion increase, they must pass to all. Even his educational and political institutions will spread wherever they are suitable. All precedence founded on the possession of magazine rifles, or

steam, or the press, or the Christian religion, must end as these elements merge into one all-embracing, everywhere diffused, cosmopolitan culture. Even the advantage conferred upon a race by closer political cohesion, or earlier development of the state, cannot last. Could we run the coming centuries through a kinetoscope, we should see all these things as mere *clothes*. For, in the last analysis, it is solely on its persistent physiological and psychological qualities that the ultimate destinies of a race depend.

The next truth to which I invite your attention is, that one race may surpass another in *energy*. The average of individual energy is not a fixed race attribute, for new varieties are constantly being created by migration. The voluntary, unassisted migration of individuals to lands of opportunity tends always to the upbuilding of highly energetic communities and peoples. To the wilderness go, not the brainiest or noblest or highest bred, but certainly the strongest and the most enterprising. The weakling and the sluggard stay at home, or, if they are launched into the new conditions, they soon go under. The Boers are reputed to be of finer physique than their Dutch congeners. In America, before the days of exaggerated immigration, the immigrants were physically taller than the people from which they sprang, the difference amounting in some instances to an average of more than an inch. By measurements taken during the Civil War the Scotch in America were found to exceed their countrymen by two inches. Moreover, the recruits hailing from other states than those in which they had been born were generally taller than those who had not changed their residence. The Kentuckians and the Texans have become proverbial for stature, while the surprising tallness of the ladies who will be found shopping, of an afternoon, on Kearney street in San Francisco, testifies to the bigness of the "forty-niners." Comparative weights tell the same tale. Of the recruits in our Civil War, the New Englanders weighed 140 pounds, the Middle State men 141

pounds, the Ohians and Indianans 145 pounds, and the Kentuckians 150. Conversely, where, as in Sardinia, the population is the leavings of continued emigration, the stature is extraordinarily low.

This principle that repeated migrations tend to the creation of energetic races of men, opens up enchanting vistas of explanation in the jungle of history. Successive waves of conquest breaking over a land like Sicily or India may signify that a race, once keyed up to a high pitch of energy by gradual migration from its ancient seats, tends to run down as soon as such beneficent selections are interrupted by success, and settlement in a new home. Cankered by a long quiet it falls a prey in a few centuries to some other people that has likewise been keyed up by migration.

Again, this principle may account for the fact that those branches of a race achieve the most brilliant success which have wandered the farthest from their ancestral home. Of the Mongols that borrowed the old Babylonian culture, those who pushed across Asia to the Yellow Sea, have risen the highest. The Arabs and Moors that skirted Africa and won a home in far-away Spain, developed the most brilliant of the Saracenic civilizations. Hebrews, Dorians, Quirites, Rajputs, Hovas were far invaders. No communities in classic times flourished like the cities in Asia created by the overflow from Greece. Nowhere under the Czar are there such vigorous, progressive communities as in Siberia. By the middle of this century, perhaps, the Russian on the Yenesei or the Amur will be known for his "push" and "hustle" as is to-day the American on Lake Michigan or Puget Sound. It is perhaps on this principle that the men who made their way to the British Isles have shown themselves the most masterful and achieving of the Germanic race; while their offshoots in America and Australia, in spite of some mixture, show the highest level of individual efficiency found in any people of the Anglo-Saxon breed. Even in America there is a difference between the

East and the West. The listlessness and social decay noticeable in many of the rural communities and old historic towns on the Atlantic slope, are due, no doubt, to the loss of their more energetic members to the rising cities and to the West.

There is no doubt that the form of society which a race adopts is potent to paralyze or to release its energy. In this respect Americans are especially fortunate, for their energies are stimulated to the utmost by democracy. I refer not to popular government, but to the fact that with us social status depends little on birth and much on personal success. I will not deny that money, not merit, is frequently the test of social standing, and that Titania is often found kissing "the fair long ears" of some Bottom; but the commercial spirit, even if it cannot lend society nobility or worth, certainly encourages men to strive.

Where there is no rank or title or monarch to consecrate the hereditary principle, the capillarity of society is great, and ambition is whetted to its keenest edge. For it is hope not need that animates men. Set ladders before them and they will climb until their heart-strings snap.

Without a social ladder, without infection from a leisure class that keys up its standard of comfort, a body of yeomen settling in a new and fertile land will be content with simplicity and rude plenty. A certain sluggishness prevails now among the Boers, as it prevailed among the first settlers beyond the Alleghenies. If, on the other hand, there is a social ladder, but it is occupied by those of a military or hereditary position, as in the Spanish communities of the southwest, there is likewise no stimulus to energy. But if vigorous men form new communities in close enough touch with rich and old communities to accept their exacting standards of comfort, without at the same time accepting their social ranking, each man has the greatest possible incentive to improve his condition. Such has been the relation of America to England, and of the West to the East.

This is why America spells Opportunity. Inspired by hope and ambition the last two generations of Americans have amazed the world by the breathless speed with which they have subdued the western half of the continent, and filled the wilderness with homes and cities. Never has the world seen such prodigies of labor, such miracles of enterprise, as the creation within a single lifetime of a vast ordered, civilized life between the Mississippi and the Pacific. Witnessing such lavished expenditures of human force, can we wonder at American "rush," American nervousness and heart failure, at gray hairs in the thirties and old age in the fifties, at our proverb "Time is money!" and at the ubiquitous American rocking chair or hammock which enables a tired man to rest very quickly!

Closely related to energy is the virtue of *self-reliance*. There is a boldness which rises at the elbow touch of one's fellows, and there is a stout-heartedness which inspires a man when he is alone. There is a courage which confronts resolutely a known danger, and a courage which faces perils unknown or vague. Now, it is this latter quality—self-reliance—which characterizes those who have migrated the oftenest and have migrated as individuals. On our frontier has always been found the Daniel Boone type, who cared little for the support of his kind and loved danger and adventure for its own sake. The American's faith in himself and confidence in the friendliness of the unknown may be due to his enlightenment, but it is more likely the unapprehensiveness that runs in the blood of a pioneering breed. Sometimes, as in the successive trekkings of the Boers from Cape Town to the Limpopo, the trait most intensified is independence and self-reliance. Sometimes, as in the settling of the Trans-Mississippi region, the premium is put on energy and push. But in any case voluntary migration demands *men*.

Even in an old country, that element of the population is destined to riches and power which excels in self-reliance and enterprise. Cities are now the places of opportunity

and of prosperity, and it has been shown conclusively that, in the urban upbuilding now going on in Central Europe, where long-skull Teutons and broad-skull Celto-Slavs are mingled, the cities are more Teutonic than the rural districts from which their population is recruited. The city is a magnet for the more venturesome, and it draws to it more of the long-skulled race than of the broad-skulled race. In spite of the fact that he has no greater wit and capacity than the Celt, the Teuton's superior migrancy takes him to the foci of prosperity, and procures him a higher reward and a superior social status.

Wherever there is pioneering or settlement to do, self-reliance is a supreme advantage. The expansion of the English-speaking peoples in the nineteenth century—the English in building their Empire, the Americans in subduing the West—seems to be due to this trait. Self-reliance is, in fact, a sovereign virtue in times of ferment or displacement. In static times, however, other qualities outweigh it, and the victory may fall to those who are patient, obedient, and quick-witted, rather than to the independent in spirit. If this be so, then the great question of the hour. What is to be the near destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race? involves the question whether we stand on the threshold of a dynamic, or a static epoch. If the former, well for the Anglo-Saxon; if the latter, it may be the Latins who, renewing their faith in themselves, will forge ahead.

I think there can be no doubt that we are entering a tumultuously dynamic epoch. Science, machinery and steam—our heritage from the past century—together constitute a new economic civilization which is destined to work in the world a transformation such as the plow works among nomads. Two centuries ago Europe had little to offer Asia in an industrial way. Now, in western Europe and in America, there exists an industrial technique which alters the face of society wherever it goes. The exploitation of nature and man by steam and machinery directed by techni-

cal knowledge, has the strongest of human forces behind it, and nothing can check its triumphant expansion over the planet. The Arab spreads the religion of Mahomet with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other. The white man of to-day spreads his economic gospel, one hand on a Gatling, the other on a locomotive.

It will take at least two or three generations to level up the industrial methods of continents like South America or Africa or Asia, as a Jamaica, a Martinique, or a Hawaii have been levelled up; and all this time that race which excels in energy, self-reliance and education will have the advantage. When this furiously dynamic epoch closes, when the world becomes more static, and uniformism recurs, self-reliance will be at a discount, and the conditions will again favor the race that is patient, laborious, frugal, intelligent and apt in consolidation. Then, perhaps, the Celtic and Mediterranean races will score against the Anglo-Saxon.

For economic greatness perhaps no quality is more important than *foresight*. To live from hand to mouth taking no thought of the morrow, is the trait of primitive man generally, and especially of the races in the tropical lands where nature is bounteous, and the strenuous races have not yet made their competition felt. From the Rio Grande to the Rio de la Plata, the laboring masses, largely of Indian breed, are without a compelling vision of the future. The Mexicans, our consuls write us, are "occupied in obtaining food and amusement for the passing hour without either hope or desire for a better future." They are always in debt, and the workman hired for a job asks something in advance to buy materials or to get something to eat. "Slaves of local attachments" they will not migrate in order to get higher wages. In Ecuador the laborer lets to-morrow take care of itself and makes no effort to accumulate. In Guiana, where Hindoos, Chinese, Portuguese, and Creoles labor side by side, the latter squander their earnings while the immigrants from the old economic civilizations all lay by in order to

return home and enjoy. In Colombia the natives will not save, nor will they work in order to supply themselves with comforts. In British Honduras the natives are happy-go-lucky negroes who rarely save and who spend their earnings on festivals and extravagances, rather than on comforts and decencies. In Venezuela the laborers live for to-day and all their week's earnings are gone by Monday morning. The Brazilians work as little as they can and live, and save no money; are satisfied so long as they have a place to sleep and enough to eat.

Since, under modern conditions, abundant production is bound up, not so much with patient toil, as with the possession of ample capital, it is evident that, in the economic rivalry of races, the palm goes to the race that discounts the future least and is willing to exchange present pleasures for future gratifications most nearly at par. The power to do this depends partly on a lively imagination of remote experiences to come, partly on the self-control that can deny present cravings, or resist temptation in favor of the thrifty course recommended by reason. We may, in fact, distinguish two types of men, the sensori-motor moved by sense-impressions and by sensory images, and the ideo-motor moved by ideas. For it is probable that the provident races do not accumulate simply from the liveliness of their anticipation of future wants or gratifications, but from the domination of certain ideas. The tenant who is saving to build a cottage of his own is not animated simply by a picture of coming satisfactions. All his teaching, all his contact with his fellows, conspire to make "home" the goal of his hopes, to fill his horizon with that one radiant idea. So in the renter who is scrimping in order to get himself a farm as in the immigrant who is laying by to go back and "be somebody" in the old country, the attraction of a thousand vaguely imagined pleasures is concentrated in one irresistible idea. The race that can make *ideas* the lodestars of life is certain to supplant a race of impulsivists absorbed in sensations, and recollections or anticipations of sensations.

It is certain that races differ in their attitude toward past and future. M. Lapie has drawn a contrast between the Arab and the Jew. The Arab *remembers*; he is mindful of past favors and past injuries. He harbors his vengeance and cherishes his gratitude. He accepts everything on the authority of tradition, loves the ways of his ancestors, forms strong local attachments, and migrates little. The Jew, on the other hand, turns his face toward the future. He is thrifty and always ready for a good stroke of business, will, indeed, join with his worst enemy if it pays. He is calculating, enterprising, migrant and ambitious.

An economic quality quite distinct from foresight is *the value sense*. By this I mean that facility of abstraction and calculation which enables a man to fix his interest on the value in goods rather than on the goods themselves. The mere husbandman is a utility perceiver. He knows the power of objects to keep human beings alive and happy, and has no difficulty in recognizing what is good and what is not. But the trader is a value perceiver. Not what a thing is good for, but what it will fetch, engages his attention. Generic utilities are relatively stable, for wine and oil and cloth are always and everywhere fit to meet human wants; but value is a chameleon-like thing, varying greatly from time to time and place to place and person to person. The successful trader dares form no fixed ideas with regard to his wares. He must pursue the elusive value that hovers now here and now there, and be ready at any moment to readjust his notions. He must be a calculator. He must train himself to recognize the abstract in the concrete and to distill the abstract out of the concrete. Economically, then, the trader is to the husbandman what the husbandman is to the hunter. The appearance of cities, money, and commerce puts a premium on the man who can perceive value. He accumulates property and founds a house, while his less skillful rival sinks and is devoured by war and by labor.

All through that ancient world which produced the Phœ-

necian, the Jew, the Greek and the Roman, the acquisition of property made a difference in survival we can hardly understand to-day. Our per capita production is probably three or four times as great as theirs was, and hence the grain-handlers of Buffalo are vastly more able to maintain a family than were the grain-handlers of old Carthage or Alexandria. All around the Mediterranean trade prospered the value perceivers, and that type tended to multiply and tinge more and more the psychology and ideals of the classic world. In ancient society the difference in death rates and in family-supporting power of the various industrial grades exceeded anything we are familiar with, and hence those who were steady and thrifty in labor or shrewd and prudent in trade vastly improved their chances of survival. Thus the economic man multiplied, and commercial, money-making Byzantium rose on the ruins of the old races. "Long before the seat of empire was moved to Constantinople," says Mr. Freeman, "the name of Roman had ceased to imply even a presumption of descent from the old patricians and plebeians." "The Julius, the Claudius, the Cornelius of those days was for the most part no Roman by lineal descent, but a Greek, a Gaul, a Spaniard or an Illyrian."

Between the economic type and the military type there is abrupt contrast, and the social situation cannot well favor them both at the same time. The warrior shows passional courage and the sway of impulse and imagination. The trader is calculating, counts the cost, and prizes a whole skin. From the second century B. C. the substitution of this type for the old, heroic, Cincinnatus type went on so rapidly that a recent writer finds congenital cowardice to be the mark of the Roman Senate and nobility during the empire. We all know the brilliant picture that Mr. Brooks Adams, in his "Law of Civilization and Decay," has given of the replacement of the military by the economic type in western Europe since the Crusades.

If this hypothesis be sound, the value perceiving sense is to be looked for in old races that have long known cities, money and trade. The Jew came under these influences at least twelve centuries earlier than did our Teutonic ancestors and has therefore had about forty or fifty generations the start of us in becoming economic. Equal or even greater is the lead of the Chinaman. It is, then, no wonder that the Jews and the Chinese are the two most formidable mercantile races in the world to-day, just as, in the Middle Ages, the Greeks and the Italians were the most redoubtable traffickers and money-makers in Europe. The Scotchman, the Fleming, and the Yankee, minor and later economic varieties developed in the West, can, indeed, exist alongside the Jew. The less mercantile German, however, fails to hold his own, and vents his wrath in Anti-Semitism. The Slav, unsophisticated and rural, loses invariably in his dealings with the Jew, and so harshly drives him out in vast numbers.

May we not, then, conveniently recognize two stages in the development away from the barbarian? Hindoos, Japanese, North Africans and Europeans, in their capacity for steady labor, their foresight, and their power to save, constitute what I will call *the domesticated races*. But the Jews, the Chinese, the Parsees, the Armenians, and in general the peoples about the Mediterranean constitute *the economic races*. The expurgated and deleted Teuton of the West, on the other hand, is more recently from the woods, and remains something of the barbarian after all. We see it in his migratoriness, his spirit of adventure, his love of dangerous sports, his gambling propensities, his craving for strong drink, his living up to his standard of comfort whether he can afford it or not. In quest of excitement he betakes himself to the Far West or the Klondike, whereas the Jew betakes himself to the Board of Trade or the Bourse. In direct competition with the more economic type the Anglo-Saxon is handicapped by lack of patience and financial acumen, but still his virtues insure him a rich portion. His energy and self-

reliance locate him in cities and in the spacious, thriving parts of the earth where the economic reward is highest. Born pioneer, he prospects the wilderness, pre-empting the richest deposits of the precious metals and skimming the cream from the resources of nature. Strong in war and in government, he jealously guards his own from the economic races, and meets finesse with force; so that despite his less developed value sense, more and more the choice lands and the riches of the earth come into his possession and support his brilliant yet solid civilization.

It is through no inadvertence that I have not brought forward *the martial traits* as a cause of race superiority. I do not believe that the martial traits apart from economic prowess are likely in the future to procure success to any race. When men kill one another by arms of precision instead of by stabbing and hacking, the knell is sounded for purely warlike races like the Vandals, the Huns and the Turks. Invention has so completely transformed warfare that it has become virtually an extra-hazardous branch of engineering. The factory system receives its latest and supreme application in the killing of men. Against an intelligent force equipped with the modern specialized appliances of slaughter no amount of mere warlike manhood can prevail. The fate of the Dervishes is typical of what must more and more often occur when *men* are pitted against properly operated lethal *machinery*.

Now, the war factory is as expensive as it is effective. None but the economic races, up to their eyes in capital and expert in managing machinery, can keep it running long. Warfare is becoming a costly form of competition in which the belligerents shed each other's treasure rather than each other's blood. A nation loses, not when it is denuded of men, but when it is at the end of its financial resources. War is, in fact, coming to be the supreme, economic touchstone, testing systems of cultivation and transportation and banking, as well as personal courage and military organization.

At the same time that war is growing more expensive it is becoming less profitable. The fruits of victory are often mere apples of Sodom. A decent respect for the opinion of mankind debars a civilized people from massacring the conquered in order to plant its own colonists on their land, from enslaving them, from bleeding them with heavy and perpetual tribute. Fortunate, indeed, is the victor if he can extort enough to indemnify him for his outlay. Therefore, at the very moment that the cost of war increases, the declining profits of war stamp it as an industry of decreasing returns. Wealth is a means of procuring victory, but victory is no longer a means of procuring wealth. A non-martial race may easily become victorious by means of its prosperity, but it will be harder and harder for a non-economic race to become prosperous by means of its victories. Even now the Turks in Europe are declining in numbers, and in spite of Armenian massacres the industrial races of the empire are growing up through the top-dressing of oppressors. It would seem safe to say that the purely war-like traits no longer insure race survival and expansion, and that in the competitions of the future the traits which enhance economic efficiency are likely to be most decisive.

In the dim past when cultures were sporadic, each developing apart in some island or river delta or valley closet, no race could progress unless it bore its crop of inventive genius. A high average of capacity was not so important as a few Gutenbergs and Faradays in each generation to make lasting additions to the national culture. If fruitful initiatives were forthcoming, imitation and education could be trusted to make them soon the common possession of all.

But when culture becomes cosmopolitan, as it is to-day, the success of a race turns much more on the efficiency of its average units than on the inventions and discoveries of its geniuses. The heaven-sent man who invents the locomotive, or the dynamo, or the germ theory, confers thereby no exclu-

sive advantage on his people or his race. So perfect is intellectual commerce, so complete is the organization of science, that almost at once the whole civilized world knows and profits by his achievements. Nowadays the pioneering genius belongs to mankind, and however patriotic he may be he aids most the race that is most prompt and able to exploit his invention. Parasitism of this kind, therefore, tends to annul genius as a factor in race survival. During the century just closed the French intellect has stood supreme in its contributions to civilization; yet France has derived no exclusive advantage from her men of genius. It is differences in the qualities of the common men of the rival peoples that explains why France has not doubled its population in a century, while the English stock in the meantime has peopled some of the choicest parts of the world and more than quadrupled its numbers.

Henceforth this principle of cosmopolitanism must be reckoned with. Even if the Chinese have not yet vanquished the armies of the West with Mauser rifles supplied from Belgium, there is no reason why that mediocre and intellectually sterile race may not yet defeat us industrially by the aid of machines and processes conceived in the fertile brains of our Edisons and Marconis. Organizing talent, of course,—industrial, administrative, military,—each race must, in the long run, produce from its own loins; but in the industrial Armageddon to come it may be that the laurels will be won by a mediocre type of humanity, equipped with the science and the appliances of the more brilliant and brain-fertile peoples. Not preponderance of genius will be decisive, but more and more the energy, self-reliance, fecundity, and acquired skill of the average man; and the nation will do most for itself that knows how best to foster these winning qualities by means of education and wise social institutions.

How far does moral excellence profit a race? Those who hold that *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht* tell us that the weal or woe of nations depends upon morals. Indeed,

every flourishing people lays its prosperity first to its religion, and then to its moral code. Climatic adaptation or economic capacity is the last thing to be thought of as a cause of superiority.

The chief moral trait of a winning race is *stability of character*. Primitive peoples are usually over-emotional and poised unstably between smiles and tears. They act quickly if at all, and according to the impulse of the moment. The Abyssinian, for example, is fickle, fleeting and perjured, the Kirghiz "fickle and uncertain," the Bedouin "loves and honors violent acts." The courage of the Mongol is "a sudden blaze of pugnacity" rather than a cool intrepidity. We recall Carlyle's comparing Gallic fire which is "as the crackling of dry thorns under a pot," with the Teutonic fire which rises slowly but will smelt iron. In private endeavor perseverance, in the social economy the keeping of promises, and in the state steadfastness—these are the requisites of success, and they all depend on stability of character. Reliability in business engagements and settled reverence for law are indispensable in higher social development. The great economic characteristics of this age are the tendency to association, the growth of exchange, the increasing use of capital and the greater elaborateness of organization. They all imply the spreading of business over more persons, more space, and more time, and the increasing dependence of every enterprise upon what certain persons have been appointed to do or have engaged to do. Unreliable persons who fail to do their duty or keep their promises are quickly extruded from the economic organization. Industrial evolution, therefore, places a rising premium on reflection and self-control, the foundations of character. More and more it penalizes the childishness or frivolousness of the cheaply-gotten-up, *mañana* races.

As regards the altruistic virtues, they are too common to confer a special advantage. Honesty, docility, faithfulness

and other virtues that lessen social friction abound at every stage of culture and in almost every breed. The economic virtues are a function of *race*; but the moral virtues seem rather to be a function of *association*. They do not make society; society makes them. Just as the joint secretes the lubricating synovial fluid so every settled community, if undisturbed, secretes in time the standards, ideals and imperatives which are needed to lessen friction. Good order is, in fact, so little a monopoly of the higher races that the attainment of it is more difficult among Americans at Dutch Flat or Skagway than it is among Eskimos or Indians. Sociability and sympathy are, indeed, serviceable in promoting cohesion among natural men; but they are of little account in the higher social architecture. The great races have been stern and grasping, with a strong property sense. More and more the purposive triumphs over the spontaneous association; so that the great historic social edifices are built on concurrence of aims, on custom or religion or law, never on mere brotherly feeling.

Indeed, the primary social sentiments are at variance with that sturdy self-reliance which, as we have seen, enables a race to overrun the earth. It was observed even in the California gold diggings that the French miners stayed together, while the solitary American or Briton serenely roamed the wilderness with his outfit on a burro, and made the richest "strikes." To-day a French railway builder in Tonkin says of the young French engineers in his employ: "They sicken, morally and physically, these fellows. They need papa and mamma! I had good results from bringing them together once or twice a week, keeping them laughing, making them amuse themselves and each other, in spite of lack of amusement. Then all would go well." It is perhaps this cruel homesickness which induces the French to restrict their numbers rather than expatriate themselves to over-sea colonies. Latin sociability is the fountain of many of the graces that make life worth living, but it is certainly

a handicap in just this critical epoch, when the apportionment of the earth among the races depends so much on a readiness to fight, trade, prospect or colonize thousands of miles from home.

The superiority of a race cannot be preserved without *pride of blood* and an uncompromising attitude toward the lower races. In Spanish America the easygoing and unfastidious Spaniard peopled the continent with half-breeds and met the natives half way in respect to religious and political institutions. In East Africa and Brazil the Portuguese showed toward the natives even less of that race aversion which is so characteristic of the Dutch and the English. In North America, on the other hand, the white men have rarely mingled their blood with that of the Indian or toned down their civilization to meet his capacities. The Spaniard absorbed the Indians, the English exterminated them by fair means or foul. Whatever may be thought of the latter policy, the net result is that North America from the Behring Sea to the Rio Grande is dedicated to the highest type of civilization; while for centuries the rest of our hemisphere will drag the ball and chain of hybridism.

Since the higher culture should be kept pure as well as the higher blood, that race is stronger which, down to the cultivator or the artisan, has a *strong sense of its superiority*. When peoples and races meet there is a silent struggle to determine which shall do the assimilating. The issue of this grapple turns not wholly on the relative excellence of their civilizations, but partly on the degree of faith each has in itself and its ideals. The Greeks assimilated to themselves all the peoples about the Mediterranean save the Jew, partly because the humblest wandering Greek despised "the barbarians," and looked upon himself as a missionary to the heathen. The absorbent energy of the United States probably surpasses that of any mere colony because of the stimulus given us by an independent national existence. America is a psychic maelstrom that has sucked in and swallowed up

hosts of aliens. Five millions of Germans, for instance, have joined us, and yet how little has our institutional development been deflected by them ! I dare say the few thousand university-trained Germans, and Americans educated in Heidelberg or Göttingen, have injected more German culture into our veins than all the immigrants that ever passed through Castle Garden. There is no doubt that the triumph of Americanism over these heterogeneous elements, far more decisive now than eighty years ago, has been hastened by the vast contempt that even the native farm-hand or mechanic feels for the unassimilated immigrant. Had he been less sure of himself, had he felt less pride in American ideals and institutions, the tale might have been different.

One question remains. Is the Superior Race as we have portrayed it, able to survive all competitions and expand under all circumstances ? There is, I am convinced, one respect in which very foresight and will power that mark the higher race dig a pit beneath its feet.

In the presence of the plenty produced by its triumphant energy the superior race forms what the economists call "a Standard of Comfort," and refuses to multiply save upon this plane. With his native ambition stimulated by the opportunity to rise and his natural foresight reinforced by education, the American, for example, overrules his strongest instincts and refrains from marrying or from increasing his family until he can realize his subjective standard of comfort or decency. The power to form and cling to such a standard is not only one of the noblest triumphs of reason over passion, but is, in sooth, the only sure hope for the elevation of the mass of men from the abyss of want and struggle. The progress of invention held out such a hope but it has proven a mockery. Steam and machinery, it is true, ease for a little the strain of population on resources; but if the birth-rate starts forward and the slack is soon taken up by the increase of mouths, the final result is simply more people living on the old plane. The rosy glow thrown upon

the future by progress in the industrial arts proves but a false dawn unless the common people acquire new wants and raise the plane upon which they multiply.

Now, this rising standard, which alone can pilot us toward the Golden Age, is a fatal weakness when a race comes to compete industrially with a capable race that multiplies on a lower plane. Suppose, for example, Asiatics flock to this country and, enjoying equal opportunities under our laws, learn our methods and compete actively with Americans. They may be able to produce and therefore earn in the ordinary occupations, say three-fourths as much as Americans; but if their standard of life is only half as high, the Asiatic will marry before the American feels able to marry. The Asiatic will rear two children while his competitor feels able to rear but one. The Asiatic will increase his children to six under conditions that will not encourage the American to raise more than four. Both, perhaps, are forward-looking and influenced by the worldly prospects of their children; but where the Oriental is satisfied with the outlook the American, who expects to school his children longer and place them better, shakes his head.

Now, to such a competition there are three possible results. First, the American, becoming discouraged, may relinquish his exacting standard of decency and begin to multiply as freely as the Asiatic. This, however, is likely to occur only among the more reckless and worthless elements of our population. Second, the Asiatic may catch up our wants as well as our arts, and acquire the higher standard and lower rate of increase of the American. This is just what contact and education are doing for the French Canadians in New England, for the immigrants in the West, and for the negro in some parts of the South; but the members of a great culture race like the Chinese show no disposition, even when scattered sparsely among us, to assimilate to us or to adopt our standards. Not until their self-complacency has been undermined at home and an extensive intellectual

ferment has taken place in China itself will the Chinese become assimilable elements. Thirdly, the standards may remain distinct, the rates of increase unequal, and the silent replacement of Americans by Asiatics go on unopposed until the latter monopolize all industrial occupations, and the Americans shrink to a superior caste able perhaps by virtue of its genius, its organization, and its vantage of position to retain for a while its hold on government, education, finance, and the direction of industry, but hopelessly beaten and displaced as a race. In other words, the American farm hand, mechanic and operative might wither away before the heavy influx of a prolific race from the Orient, just as in classic times the Latin husbandman vanished before the endless stream of slaves poured into Italy by her triumphant generals.

For a case like this I can find no words so apt as "race suicide." There is no bloodshed, no violence, no assault of the race that waxes upon the race that wanes. The higher race quietly and unobtrusively eliminates itself rather than endure individually the bitter competition it has failed to ward off from itself by collective action. The working classes gradually delay marriage and restrict the size of the family as the opportunities hitherto reserved for their children are eagerly snapped up by the numerous progeny of the foreigner. The prudent, self-respecting natives first cease to expand, and then, as the struggle for existence grows sterner and the outlook for their children darker, they fail even to recruit their own numbers. It is probably the visible narrowing of the circle of opportunity through the infiltration of Irish and French Canadians that has brought so low the native birth-rate in New England.

However this may be, it is certain that if we venture to apply to the American people of to-day the series of tests of superiority I have set forth to you at such length, the result is most gratifying to our pride. It is true that our average of energy and character is lowered by the presence in the South

of several millions of an inferior race. It is true that the last twenty years have diluted us with masses of fecund but beaten humanity from the hovels of far Lombardy and Galicia. It is true that our free land is gone and our opportunities will henceforth attract immigrants chiefly from the humbler strata of East European peoples. Yet, while there are here problems that only high statesmanship can solve, I believe there is at the present moment no people in the world that is, man for man, equal to the Americans in capacity and efficiency. We stand now at the moment when the gradual westward migration has done its work. The tonic selections of the frontier have brought us as far as they can bring us. The testing individualizing struggle with the wilderness has developed in us what it would of body, brain and character.

Moreover, free institutions and universal education have keyed to the highest tension the ambitions of the American. He has been chiefly farmer and is only beginning to expose himself to the deteriorating influences of city and factory. He is now probably at the climax of his energy and everything promises that in the centuries to come he is destined to play a brilliant and leading rôle on the stage of history.

III. The Race Problem at the South

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The Race Problem at the South

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

By Col. Hilary A. Herbert, ex-Secretary of the Navy

THE RACE PROBLEM AT THE SOUTH.

By Col. HILARY A. HERBERT,

Ex-Secretary of the Navy.

This is a land of free speech. Americans may now discuss anywhere, North or South, even their Negro question in all its bearings. This it has not always been easy to do even in this historic city, which claims the proud distinction of being the birthplace of American liberties. In 1859 George William Curtis became temporarily a hero by an anti-slavery speech in Philadelphia. A mob had gathered to prevent him, but the mayor of the city, backed by the police, succeeded in protecting the speaker, who delivered his address in spite of the missiles that were hurled into the room where he spoke. The next year, however, so violent were the passions of the day that the friends of that great orator could not hire a hall in this city for Mr. Curtis to lecture in, even on a subject totally disconnected with the Negro, or with politics.

In those days the Negro question was full of dynamite, because we then had in this country two systems, I might almost say two civilizations, one founded on free and the other intimately interwoven with and largely dependent upon slave labor. They were in sharp conflict with each other, and therefore it was that free discussion of the slavery question, or Negro problem, was then sometimes difficult at the North, while it was everywhere impossible in the South. Abolition sentiment was proclaiming in the North that slavery must go, no matter at what cost. In the South, therefore, the stern law of self-preservation demanded the rigid suppression of free speech on this question, lest discussion should incite insurrection, and light the midnight torch of the incendiary. In the North the motive of the mobs which, like those who gathered around Mr. Curtis here in

1859, and who called themselves Union men, was to prevent abolition speeches because they saw in them disunion or civil war, or it might be both civil war and disunion. The civil war came; it was terrible; more terrible than dreamer ever dreamed of. But it is over, and there will never be disunion; no one fears it now, because now no one desires it. Slavery is dead, and can never be resurrected. So, therefore, there is now nothing to hinder free speech, here or elsewhere in our country, about the race problem in the South. We are all here to aid, as far as we may, in its correct solution. The city in which this meeting is convened, the auspices under which we are met, the startling contrasts in the antecedents of those who are to take part in the discussion, all are propitious. This Academy is seeking knowledge.

But let us not lose sight of the fact that many years had rolled away after our Civil War, before a meeting comprising so many divergent elements as this became possible, even in the city of Philadelphia. If in 1861 there was dynamite in the Negro question, so when that dynamite had exploded, and when states had been wrecked and social and economic systems shattered, the problems that grew out of the Negro question were quite as exciting when up for discussion as had been slavery itself.

The most acute form in which this many-sided question then presented itself was suffrage, and every student now knows that political science played no part in its solution, that the reconstruction acts were passed and the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted when party spirit was more intolerant than it had ever been before, and the passions of war were still blazing fiercely. The Constitution of the fathers was framed in this city after mature deliberation behind closed doors. The Fifteenth Amendment, changing that instrument fundamentally, was formulated after heated debate in Congress, on the rostrum, and in the newspapers throughout the land. In debating the question of granting

suffrage by law to millions of ex-slaves, and then of clinching the right by a constitutional provision intended to secure it forever, whether it worked for good or evil, the fundamental proposition for consideration should have been the fitness of the Negro. Was he intellectually, by training and antecedents, competent to take part—often a controlling part—in the great business of government? But the case did not turn on that point, the discussion was always wide of that mark. The nearest approach to the question of the fitness of the ex-slave for the ballot was this argument: Did not the government free the Negro? Was he not the ward of the nation? Did not the government owe him protection? And how could he protect himself without the ballot?

This, though fitness was assumed without argument to support it, is the most defensible of all the grounds on which the Fifteenth Amendment became part of the Constitution. If the Negro had only possessed the qualifications which political science tells us are essential in those on whose shoulders rest the burdens of republican government, with the ballot in hand he would not only have protected himself, but he would have given to the Southern States, and he would have helped to give to the nation, the blessings of good government. But the fitness for the ballot that had been taken for granted did not exist. The political structures based on Negro ballots, like the house of the unwise man in the Scriptures, fell because they were builded upon sand.

Out of reconstruction and the Fifteenth Amendment have come many of the peculiar phases, and nearly all the aggravations which now beset the "race problem at the South," the subject before you for discussion this afternoon. In the days of reconstruction the teachings of political science as such, and of ethnology, its handmaid, had made but little impression in America. Political science had been taught, it is true in William and Mary College, at Jefferson and other Virginia states-

men prior to the Revolution, and there were, prior to 1860, in a few scattered American colleges, solitary professors lecturing occasionally on the subject, but great schools of political science and great academies like this are of recent growth.

This Academy and its co-laborers did not come too soon; they did not enter the field before the harvest was ripe. As our country expands it has need for wider knowledge. It is dealing now not only with its Negroes in the South, but with Cuban and Porto Rican and Philippine populations, and it needs not only accurate knowledge of all these peoples, but, facing as we do a future that will bring to us questions as momentous as they will be novel, the time has come when we must search carefully for and familiarize our people with the lessons of our own history, that our experience may be a lamp to guide our feet. You gentlemen of this Academy have set yourselves to that work, and I am very sure you will do it fearlessly. The task you have set yourself requires high thinking and bold speaking. Where our fathers acted wisely you will hold up their example to imitation. Where they made mistakes, you will not hesitate to point them out.

Professor Cope, the great naturalist of your University, was a pioneer in the field you are exploring. A few years ago he made a notable contribution to the discussion of the race problem you are to consider this evening. It was a series of articles published in the *Open Court*, a Chicago periodical, discussing, from the standpoint of a naturalist, the differences between the white man and the Negro. He showed the inferiority of the Negro, and contended that the Mulatto was in many respects, which he carefully pointed out, inferior to both his parents. Then he left the firm ground of science on which he was at home, and surmised that intermarriage would hereafter become common in the South. If this surmise should be correct, then there would follow, as he had proven, the destruction of a large portion

of the finest race upon earth, the whites of the South. To prevent this result he argued that the government could well afford, whatever might be the cost, to deport all the Negroes from the South. This admixture of the races let us hope will not take place, and deportation is impossible.

If these articles had been written and published in 1860 who can estimate the opprobrium that would have been heaped upon Professor Cope and the University of Pennsylvania. But in the nineties the publication excited no comment. It was simply a scientific contribution to the discussion of the Negro question. The day of free thought and free speech even on our race problem had come.

So I am free here and now to say to you, and you will consider it for what it is worth, that in my opinion the granting of universal suffrage to the Negro was the mistake of the nineteenth century. I say that, believing myself to be a friend to the Negro, willing and anxious that he shall have fair play and the fullest opportunity under the law to develop himself to his utmost capacity. Suffrage wronged the Negro, because he could only develop by practicing industry and economy, while learning frugality. It was a mistake to tempt him away from the field of labor into the field of politics, where, as a rule, he could understand nothing that was taught him except the color line. Negro suffrage was a wrong to the white man of the South, for it brought him face to face with a situation in which he concluded, after some years of trial, that in order to preserve his civilization he must resort to fraud in elections, and fraud in elections, wherever it may be practiced, is like the deadly upas tree; it scatters its poisons in every direction. Universal suffrage in the South has demoralized our politics there. It has created a bitterness between the present generations of whites and blacks that had never existed between the ex-slave and his former master. These are among the complications of the problem you are studying. Another crying evil that has resulted to the people of the

South and of the whole Union is that we now have an absolutely solid South, where the necessity for white supremacy is so dominant that no political question can be discussed on its merits, and whites do not divide themselves between the two national parties. What we need in the Southern States to-day, above all things, is two political parties, strong enough and able to deal with each other at arms'-length.

The Negro's prospects for improvement, his development since emancipation, his industrial conditions, his relation to crime, the scanty results of the system of education that has been pursued, how that system can be bettered—all these questions as they exist to-day are before you for debate. Here and there, among Southern people, are some who in despair are advocating that no more money be spent by the whites for the education of the blacks. This, I am glad to say, is not the prevailing sentiment. The Southern people, as a rule, believe that we should continue to strive for the development of the Negro and the lifting of him up to a higher plane, where he may be more useful to himself and to the state. Most of us are looking hopefully to that system which is now being so successfully practiced in different Southern schools, and notably at Tuskegee, Alabama. Booker T. Washington, the president of that institution, is one of the remarkable men of to-day. A paper from his pen was to have been read before you.¹ Unfortunately it has not reached you yet, but it will come. Every opinion he may express, and every fact he may state, is entitled to most careful consideration. Two eminent speakers are here to discuss the questions which I have only attempted to indicate, and I will detain you no longer.

This meeting is open for business.

Our next speaker is Dr. George T. Winston, president of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. President Winston is a Southerner, a native of North

¹ This paper was not received in time for publication in this volume, but will appear in a later issue of the ANNALS.—EDITOR.

Carolina, his father was a slave owner ; he himself is a graduate of Cornell, and there were two Negroes in his class. He has enjoyed exceptional opportunities for study and for understanding the subject of which he will speak to you, which is "The Relation of the Whites to the Negroes." I introduce Dr. Winston.

The Relation of the Whites to the Negroes

**By President George T. Winston, LL. D., North Carolina
College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts**

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THE RELATION OF THE WHITES TO THE NEGROES.

By President GEORGE T. WINSTON,

North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

Since the abolition of slavery a great change has taken place in the relations of the whites to the Negroes in the Southern states. This change has been one not merely of ownership and legal authority, but of personal interest, of moral influence, of social and industrial relations.

To-day there is practically no social intercourse between the two races, excepting such as exists between the Negroes and the most degraded whites. It was far different in slavery. Then the two races mingled freely together, not on terms of social equality, but in very extended and constant social intercourse. In almost every household the children of the two races played and frolicked together, or hunted, fished or swam together in the fields, streams and forests. During my childhood and boyhood the greater portion of my play-time was spent in games and sports with Negroes. Scarcely any pleasure was so great to a southern child as playing with Negroes. In the long summer evenings we would play and romp until bed-time in the spacious yard surrounding the house, or in the garden or neighboring fields. I remember well how the evenings would fly by, and how my mother would grant repeated extensions of time, "just to play one more game of fox-and-geese, or hide-the-switch." Some of the songs that we sang and some of the games that we played, part singing, part acting, part dancing, still linger in my memory and carry me back to the happiness of childhood. Always in my childhood memories, especially in happy memories, I find associated together my mother, my home, and the Negro slaves.

During the winter evenings, when it was disagreeable out of doors, I would get permission for four or five Negro boys and girls to play with me in the library, or in the nursery. Here we would play indoor games ; jack-straws, blind-man's-buff, checks, checkers, pantomime, geography puzzles, conundrum matches and spelling bees. Frequently I would read the Negroes fairy stories, or show them pictures in the magazines and books of art. I remember how we used to linger over a beautiful picture of Lord William Russell bidding adieu to his family before going to execution ; and how in boyish way I would tell the Negroes the story of his unhappy fate and his wife's devotion. Another favorite picture was the coronation of Queen Victoria. How we delighted in "Audubon's Birds" and in the beautifully colored plates and animals in the government publications on natural history. The pleasure was by no means one-sided. To our hotch-pot of amusement and instruction the Negroes contributed marvelous tales of birds and animals, which more than offset my familiar reminiscences of Queen Victoria and Lord Russell.

It was a great privilege during slavery for the white children to visit Negro cabins at night and listen to their folk lore. Those delightful stories immortalized by Joel Chandler Harris, in the character of Uncle Remus, I heard many times in my youth, and many others besides equally delightful. There is a marvelous attraction between a white child and a Negro ; even between a little child and a grown Negro. I always found it a pleasure to sit in the cabins and watch them at work. It was a pleasure just to be with them. I have eaten many a meal with my father's slaves in their cabins, always treated with consideration, respect and affection, but not greater than I myself felt for the master and mistress of the humble cabin. My mother would have punished severely any disrespect or rudeness on my part toward the older Negroes. I would not have dared to call them by their names. It was always "Uncle Tom" or

"Aunt Susan," when I addressed them. This form of appellation was common in the South between whites and blacks. Even a strange Negro, whose name was not known, however humble he might be, was saluted on the high road, when passed by a respectable white person, with the friendly greeting of "Howdye, Uncle," or "Howdye, Auntie."

Social intercourse between white and black during slavery was not confined to children. Not infrequently the Negro women would come to the "White House" to see the mistress, often in the evenings, sitting and chatting in the nursery or the ladies' sitting room. Visits to the slave cabins were made regularly, oftentimes daily, by the white women of the household, who went not merely to visit the sick and inspect the children, to advise and direct about work and household matters, but to show their personal interest in and regard for the Negroes themselves, not as slaves, nor workers, but as individuals, as human beings, and sometimes as dear friends. In short, a social visit was made; not upon terms of social equality, but still a social visit, during which the news of the plantation or neighborhood, and occasionally of the larger world, was exchanged and discussed. This custom existed to some extent even on large plantations, where the slaves were more isolated and herded together in larger numbers. On small farms, where the races were about equal numerically, and in all households there was constant and very familiar contact between white and black. The white women in Southern households usually aided and directed the work of the Negroes. The mistress sewed or cut garments in the same room with the slave seamstresses. The lady's maid slept upon a couch or pallet in her lady's chamber, or the one adjoining. The cooks, dining-room servants, nurses, laundresses, coachmen, houseboys, gardeners, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths and mechanics generally were in daily enjoyment of a very considerable degree of social intercourse with the white race. They entered into the traditions and spirit of the family to

which they belonged, defended its name and its honor, accepted in a rude way its ideas of courtesy, morality and religion, and thus became to a considerable degree inheritors of the civilization of the white race. It was this semi-social intercourse between the two races, without any approach to social equality, this daily and hourly contact producing personal interest, friendship and affection, added to the industrial training of slavery that transformed the Negro so quickly from a savage to a civilized man.

The one great evil connected with race familiarity, the evil of licentiousness and miscegenation, while degrading to the white race was not entirely harmful to the Negro. Nearly all the leaders of the Negro race, both during slavery and since, have been Mulattoes; and the two really great men credited to the Negro race in the United States have been the sons of white fathers, and strongly marked by the mental and moral qualities of the white race. The Mulatto is quicker, brighter, and more easily refined than the Negro. There is a general opinion among Southern people that he is inferior morally; but I believe that his only inferiority is physical and vital. It cannot be denied that the Negro race has been very greatly elevated by its Mulatto members. Indeed, if you strike from its records all that Mulattoes have said and done, little would be left. Wherever work requiring refinement, extra intelligence and executive ability is performed, you will find it usually directed by Mulattoes.

But the social intercourse between the races in the South, which was so helpful to the blacks, has now practically ceased. The children of this generation no longer play and frolic together. White ladies no longer visit Negro cabins. The familiar salutation of "Uncle" or "Auntie" is no longer heard. The lady's maid sleeps no more by the bedside of her mistress. The Southern woman with her helpless little children in solitary farm house no longer sleeps secure in the absence of her husband with doors unlocked but safely guarded by black men whose lives would be freely

given in her defence. But now, when a knock is heard at the door, she shudders with nameless horror. The black brute is lurking in the dark, a monstrous beast, crazed with lust. His ferocity is almost demoniacal. A mad bull or a tiger could scarcely be more brutal. A whole community is now frenzied with horror, with blind and furious rage for vengeance. A stake is driven ; the wretched brute, covered with oil, bruised and gashed, beaten and hacked and maimed, amid the jeers and shouts and curses, the tears of anger and of joy, the prayers and the maledictions of thousands of civilized people, in the sight of school-houses, court-houses and churches is burned to death. Since the abolition of slavery and the growing up of a new generation of Negroes, crimes that are too hideous to describe have been committed every month, every week, frequently every day, against the helpless women and children of the white race, crimes that were unknown in slavery. And, in turn, cruelties have been inflicted upon Negroes by whole communities of whites, which, if attempted during slavery, would have been prevented at any sacrifice. I do not hesitate to say that more horrible crimes have been committed by the generation of Negroes that have grown up in the South since slavery than by the six preceding generations in slavery. And also that the worst cruelties of slavery all combined for two centuries were not equal to the savage barbarities inflicted in retaliation upon the Negroes by the whites during the last twenty years. This condition of things is too horrible to last. It must grow better ; or else grow worse, and by its own fury destroy both black and white.

Between the older generations in the South there is still warm affection. Whenever I visit my old home, all the Negroes that are able, come to see me, many traveling considerable distances. The last time I was there my nurse and playmate, a woman of fifty years, about six years my elder, threw her arms around me and wept like a child, completely overcome with emotion. She was honest, virtuous, industri-

ous, intelligent, affectionate and faithful. She had been raised from childhood by my mother and had slept every night in my mother's bed room. I am sure that every member of my father's family would have risked his life to protect her. And she would have greatly preferred death to seeing misfortune or disaster visit our family. My youngest brother's nurse, dying about ten years after emancipation, made her will and left her little store of goods and property, worth perhaps a hundred dollars, to her white nursling, "little Master Robert." A few days ago a Negro man was pardoned from the State penitentiary in North Carolina, by the Governor. The following letter secured his pardon. It was written by his former master and playmate, a captain in the Confederate army, an ex-member of Congress, a Democratic member of the recent State Legislature :

To His Excellency Honorable CHARLES B. AYCOCK, *Governor of North Carolina.*

DEAR SIR : I respectfully and earnestly petition you to pardon William Alexander, a Negro convicted of burglary in the year 1889, in Mecklenburg County. William was born on my father's plantation, and is about fifty-eight or fifty-nine years old, one or two years my junior. I need only state that his father was our coachman and his mother our cook, to show you my opportunity was good for knowing him. He was my slave, and his father and mother died on my plantation. William was not smart, or, to use a plantation term, was less bright than any of the young Negroes on the plantation. Knowing both of the Negroes connected with him in the burglary, I feel no hesitation in assuring you that I believe that they persuaded him to join them. William has now served about twelve years. This is an excessive punishment for a Negro of a low order of intelligence. If he came of a bad family, I would not ask his pardon. His family is as good as any Negro family in this state. He is the only one that has ever been indicted for crime. I could get others to sign a petition, but it would be a favor for me, not him, for an ordinary Negro confined in the penitentiary for twelve years is a forgotten man. Governor, I pray you to pardon William Alexander ; and, if he will, he can return to my plantation where the friend of his boyhood will give him a home.

Very respectfully,

RALEIGH, N. C., *March 26, 1901.*

S. B. ALEXANDER.

The industrial relations of the races have also undergone great changes in the South, though not so marked as the changes in social and personal relations. Under slavery almost all the labor of the South was performed by Negroes, or by Negroes and whites working side by side. The South was lacking in manufactures, and used little machinery. Its demand for skilled labor was not large, but what demand existed was supplied mainly by Negroes. Negro carpenters, plasterers, bricklayers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, painters, harnessmakers, tanners, millers, weavers, barrel-makers, basketmakers, shoemakers, chairmakers, coachmen, spinners, seamstresses, housekeepers, gardeners, cooks, laundresses, embroiderers, maids of all work, could be found in every community, and frequently on a single plantation. Skilled labor was more profitable than unskilled, and therefore every slave was made as skilful as was possible under a slave system. The young Negroes were brought up to labor, from an early age. The smartest girls were trained to domestic service in its various branches, and became practically members of the family, so far as careful training was concerned. Many of them could sew, knit, crochet, embroider, cut, fit and make garments, clean up house, wash and iron, spin and weave, even more skilfully than the mistress who had taught them. All the garments that I wore in childhood were made by Negroes or by my mother, with the single exception of the hat. Negro lads who showed aptitude for trades, were hired out under a sort of apprentice system, and taught to be skilful as carpenters, masons, smiths, and the like. The Negro artisans were very jealous of their rights, and stood upon their professional skill and knowledge. I remember, one day, my father, who was a lawyer, offered some suggestions to one of his slaves, a fairly-good carpenter, who was building us a barn. The old Negro heard him with ill-concealed disgust, and replied: "Look here, Master, you'se a first-rate lawyer, no doubt; but you don't know nothing 'bout carpenter-

ing. You better go back to your law books." The most accomplished housemaid, maid-of-all-work, laundress, nurse, dining-room servant, in our household was a woman named Emily, and the most accomplished man-of-all-work, carpenter, coachman, 'possum-hunter, fisherman, story-teller, boy amuser, was Emily's brother, Andrew. They had been given to my father in his youth by my grandfather, and had attended him to college, working in the dining-room, to pay for his education. They were present at my father's wedding, and for twenty years remained members of the household, exceedingly useful and skilful ; and, I may add, exceedingly privileged characters. They far surpassed in efficiency and versatility any white laborers in the county. I remember, one Sunday, the family came home earlier than usual from church, there being no services on account of the illness of the minister. On entering his bed room my father beheld a strange and yet familiar looking Negro arrayed in dress-suit standing in front of the mirror, with arms akimbo, and swallow-tails of the coat switching from side to side in token of pride and satisfaction. It was Emily, arrayed in her master's best suit, enjoying a new sensation. No punishment was inflicted on her. Nor do I remember that any of my father's slaves were ever punished, except such switching as was given the children, on which occasions I was usually present, a most unwilling participant and fellow-victim.

When emancipation came at the close of the Civil War, it was understood by the average Negro to mean freedom from labor. Freedom, leisure, idleness was now his greatest pleasure. How delightful it was to tell old master now that he had business in town and couldn't work to-day ; to leave the plow and hoe idle ; to meet other Negroes on the streets, to spend the day loafing, chatting, shouting, oftentimes drinking and dancing or quarreling and fighting. Sambo was now a gentleman of leisure, and he enjoyed it to the full. It was easy to live in the South. The mild climate

and fertile soil, the abundance of game in forest and stream, the bountiful supply of wild fruits, the accessibility of forests with firewood free to all, the openhanded generosity and universal carelessness of living made it possible for the average Negro to idle away at least half his time and yet live in tolerable comfort.

The national government, to guard against distress among the Negroes and to prevent oppression by the whites, neither of which was at all possible, now established throughout the South, for the distribution of food and clothing and the administration of justice between the races, the Freedman's Bureau. This institution was in every respect most unfortunate. The Negro ran away from his old master's cornfield and his appeals to work in order to enjoy the free bounty of the federal government. I knew a Negro to walk one hundred miles in order to obtain half a bushel of corn meal from the bureau. In the time required he might have earned by labor four and a half bushels, or nine times what he got by begging. But the evils of idleness, although great, would soon have passed away, if the two races had been left alone. The Southern whites were familiar with and very tolerant of the Negro's weaknesses and petty vices. They looked upon him with sympathy and sorrow, with friendship and affection, rather than with anger, resentment, and hostility. They were anxious to see him go to work even more diligently than in slavery, acquire property, and improve his moral and physical condition. The races still remained very close together, in their daily lives, interests and affections. They might have worked out a future along lines far different from those they are now following. It was decreed otherwise by fate.

The bestowal of political rights upon the Negro, the disfranchisement of almost every prominent white man in the South, the migration from the North of political carpet-baggers and their manipulation of the Negro vote, the Civil Rights Bill, the Force Bill, the zeal of educational and

religious missionaries, most of whom preached and practiced the social and civil equality of the races ; in short, the dark, dismal and awful night of Reconstruction, following swift upon the storm of Civil War with its unparalleled destruction of life and property, now threatened the very foundations of civilization in all the Southern states. The bonds between the races were broken at last. The Negro did not endorse all the demands that were made in his behalf. He knew they were impossible. Still he was profoundly influenced by them. In slavery he was like an animal in harness ; well trained, gentle and affectionate ; in early freedom the harness was off, but still the habit of obedience and the force of affection endured and prevented a run-away. In Reconstruction came a consciousness of being unharassed, unhitched, unbridled and unrestrained. The wildest excesses followed. The machinery of government was seized in every Southern state by men recently slaves, now guided by political adventures. Southern halls of legislation, once glorified by the eloquence of Patrick Henry, the wisdom of Marshall, or the patriotism of Washington, now resounded with the drunken snorings or the unmeaning gibberish of Cuffee and Sambo. Negro strumpets in silks and satins led wild orgies at inaugural balls in marble halls that blushed and closed their eyes. "Uncle Tom" and "Aunt Susan" were now entirely vanished. The family cook now demanded to be known as Mrs. Jackson, and the chambermaid as Miss Marguerite. I know an unmarried Negress, about twenty-five years of age, the mother of three illegitimate children, who requires her own children to call her on all occasions, "Miss Mary." It was not a time for the learning of new trades by the emancipated race. It was not a time for new industries, or increased efficiency of labor. The Negro was intoxicated with the license of freedom ; the North was blinded by sentimentality and the passions of war ; the South was fighting for civilization and existence. It is all over now. I forbear to characterize it further.

Some day the historian, the poet, the painter, the dramatist will picture Reconstruction, and will make the saddest picture in the annals of the English-speaking race.

But Reconstruction is ended at last. For the first time since 1870 the National House of Representatives contains not a single Negro.

For the first time in our history the American Negro is almost friendless. The North, tired of Negro politicians and Negro beggars, is beginning to say : " We have helped the Negro enough ; let him now help himself and work out his own salvation." The South, worn out with strife over the Negro and supporting with difficulty its awful burden of Negro ignorance, inefficiency and criminality, is beginning to ask whether the race is really capable of development, or is a curse and a hindrance in the way of Southern progress and civilization.

The two races are drifting apart. They were closer together in slavery than they have been since. Old time sympathies, friendships and affections created by two centuries of slavery, are rapidly passing away. A single generation of freedom has almost destroyed them. Unless a change is made, coming generations will be separated by active hatred and hostility. The condition of the Negro is indeed pitiful ; and his prospects for the future are dark and gloomy. There is no solution of the problem, unless it is dealt with from the standpoint of reason and experience, without prejudice or fanaticism.

The Negro is a child race. If isolated from the world and left to himself, he might slowly grow into manhood along separate lines and develop a Negro civilization ; but in the United States such isolation and such development are quite impossible. The Negro here is bound to be under the tutelage and control of the whites. No legal enactment, no political agitation, no scheme of education can alter this fact. It is better for the Negro that it should be so ; better that he should be dispersed among the white people, living

with them and learning their ways, than to be deported to Africa, or segregated somewhere in America, to work out slowly a separate and distinct Negro civilization.

The tutelage of the Negro is not yet complete. It lasted through six generations of slavery, directed by Southern whites. It has continued through one generation of freedom, directed by Northern whites, acting through Federal legislation, through Federal courts, through political, educational and religious missionaries working among the Negroes in the Southern states. The folly and the futility of Northern tutelage is now fully demonstrated; and the Negro is again under the tutelage of the South, to remain there until the race problem is finally settled.

The real question is not one of tutelage *versus* self-development, but whether the necessary tutelage of the Negro under the white race shall be one of friendship and sympathy or one of prejudice and hostility. To such a question only one answer is possible. It would be a cruelty greater than slavery to leave this helpless race, this child race, to work out its own salvation in fierce and hostile competition with the strongest and best developed race on the globe. The Negro can expect no peculiar development. He must aim at white civilization; and must reach it through the support, guidance and control of the white people among whom he lives. He must regain the active friendship and affection of the Southern whites. He will do so if let alone by the North. The South once liked him and loved him, and will do so again if he will permit and deserve it. The North, through force of arms and legal enactment, has given him physical freedom; but moral and intellectual freedom must come through the help of the descendants of his former masters. If this help be not given, there is no hope for the race. Against the prejudice and passion, the neglect and oppression, the competition and hostility which will inevitably result from a continuance of the relations now existing between the two races in the South the Negro

will be ground to powder. His progress depends absolutely upon the restoration of friendly relations to the whites. Nor is this a matter of easy accomplishment. Two things are requisite ;

1. The withdrawal of the Negro from politics.
2. His increased efficiency as a laborer.

The withdrawal of the Negro from politics is now being accomplished by legislation in the various Southern States. If this is interrupted by the North, and the old battle of Reconstruction fought again, the result will be the complete and final estrangement of the two races, with prejudice and hostility too intense to permit their living peaceably together.

Greater industrial efficiency would prove an everlasting bond between the races in the South. It is the real key to the problem. Let the Negro make himself indispensable as a workman, and he may rely upon the friendship and affection of the whites. But the best energies of the race since emancipation have been diverted from industrial fields into politics, preaching and education. Until recently its leaders have not regarded industrial effort as a means of progress. But public sentiment in the South still welcomes the Negro to every field of labor that he is capable of performing. The whole field of industry is open to him. The Southern whites are not troubled by his efficiency but by his inefficiency. For a full generation the Negro has had opportunity to control every industry in the South. Had he devoted himself, upon emancipation, to manual labor and the purchase of land instead of to politics, religion and education, he would own to-day at least one-half the soil of the Southern states.

There is abundant room for Northern philanthropy in helping to uplift the Southern Negro. A Hampton Institute, or a Tuskegee, should be established in every congressional district. But this alone will not suffice. The Negro laborer, like the white laborer, needs the industrial training of his

daily employer. He needs, daily and hourly, the sympathy, encouragement, instruction, admonition and restraint of his white employer. These are given to the white boy or girl ; and are received usually with willingness and profit. But such help is not given to the Negro ; nor is it desired. Negro children are less courteous to white people now than white children were to Negroes during slavery.

The Negro race is a child race and must remain in tutelage for years to come ; in tutelage not of colleges and universities, but of industrial schools, of skilled and efficient labor, of character building by honest work and honest dealing, of good habits and good manners, of respect for elders and superiors, of daily employment on the farm, in the household, the shop, the forest, the factory and the mine. Slavery gave the Negro a better industrial training than he has to-day. Freedom has increased his zeal and his opportunity, but diminished his skill. The door of his opportunity will not always be open. He must enter now. If he do not, he will remain for a while among the races of the earth a dull and stupid draught animal ; and finally will pass away, incompetent. But, with the help of the white race he may obtain opportunity to develop his powers, he may subdue his animal passions and cultivate his gentler emotions, may train his physical strength into skill and power, may grow from childhood into mature manhood ; and in the providence of God may yet add strength to the civilization of a people, who, through the tutelage of slavery, with sorrow and tears, with labor and anguish, with hope and charity brought him from barbarism to civilization, from heathenism to christianity.

The Relation of the Negroes to the Whites in the South

**By Professor W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Ph. D.,
Atlanta University**

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THE RELATION OF THE NEGROES TO THE WHITES IN THE SOUTH.

By Professor W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS, PH. D.,
Atlanta University.

In the discussion of great social problems it is extremely difficult for those who are themselves actors in the drama to avoid the attitude of partisans and advocates. And yet I take it that the examination of the most serious of the race problems of America is not in the nature of a debate but rather a joint endeavor to seek the truth beneath a mass of assertion and opinion, of passion and distress. And I trust that whatever disagreement may arise between those who view the situation from opposite sides of the color line will be rather in the nature of additional information than of contradiction.

The world-old phenomenon of the contact of diverse races of men is to have new exemplification during the new century. Indeed the characteristic of the age is the contact of European civilization with the world's undeveloped peoples. Whatever we may say of the results of such contact in the past, it certainly forms a chapter in human action not pleasant to look back upon. War, murder, slavery, extermination and debauchery—this has again and again been the result of carrying civilization and the blessed gospel to the isles of the sea and the heathen without the law. Nor does it altogether satisfy the conscience of the modern world to be told complacently that all this has been right and proper, the fated triumph of strength over weakness, of righteousness over evil, of superiors over inferiors. It would certainly be soothing if one could readily believe all this, and yet there are too many ugly facts, for everything to be thus easily explained away. We feel and know that there are many delicate differences in race psychology,

numberless changes which our crude social measurements are not yet able to follow minutely, which explain much of history and social development. At the same time, too, we know that these considerations have never adequately explained or excused the triumph of brute force and cunning over weakness and innocence.

It is then the strife of all honorable men of the twentieth century to see that in the future competition of races, the survival of the fittest shall mean the triumph of the good, the beautiful and the true; that we may be able to preserve for future civilization all that is really fine and noble and strong, and not continue to put a premium on greed and impudence and cruelty. To bring this hope to fruition we are compelled daily to turn more and more to a conscientious study of the phenomena of race contact—to a study frank and fair, and not falsified and colored by our wishes or our fears. And we have here in the South as fine a field for such a study as the world affords: a field to be sure which the average American scientist deems somewhat beneath his dignity, and which the average man who is not a scientist knows all about, but nevertheless a line of study which by reason of the enormous race complications, with which God seems about to punish this nation, must increasingly claim our sober attention, study and thought. We must ask: What are the actual relations of whites and blacks in the South, and we must be answered not by apology or fault-finding, but by a plain, unvarnished tale.

In the civilized life of to-day the contact of men and their relations to each other fall in a few main lines of action and communication: there is first the physical proximity of homes and dwelling places, the way in which neighborhoods group themselves, and the contiguity of neighborhoods. Secondly, and in our age chiefest, there are the economic relations—the methods by which individuals co-operate for earning a living, for the mutual satisfaction of wants, for the production of wealth. Next there are the political

relations, the co-operation in social control, in group government, in laying and paying the burden of taxation. In the fourth place there are the less tangible but highly important forms of intellectual contact and commerce, the interchange of ideas through conversation and conference, through periodicals and libraries, and above all the gradual formation for each community of that curious *tertium quid* which we call public opinion. Closely allied with this come the various forms of social contact in every-day life, in travel, in theatres, in house gatherings, in marrying and giving in marriage. Finally, there are the varying forms of religious enterprise, of moral teaching and benevolent endeavor.

These are the principal ways in which men living in the same communities are brought into contact with each other. It is my task this afternoon, therefore, to point out from my point of view how the black race in the South meets and mingles with the whites, in these matters of every-day life.

First as to physical dwelling, it is usually possible, as most of you know, to draw in nearly every Southern community a physical color line on the map, to the one side of which whites dwell and the other Negroes. The winding and intricacy of the geographical color line varies of course in different communities. I know some towns where a straight line drawn through the middle of the main street separates nine-tenths of the whites from nine-tenths of the blacks. In other towns the older settlement of whites has been encircled by a broad band of blacks; in still other cases little settlements or nuclei of blacks have sprung up amid surrounding whites. Usually in cities each street has its distinctive color, and only now and then do the colors meet in close proximity. Even in the country something of this segregation is manifest in the smaller areas, and of course in the larger phenomena of the black belt.

All this segregation by color is largely independent of that natural clustering by social grades common to all commu-

nities. A Negro slum may be in dangerous proximity to a white residence quarter, while it is quite common to find a white slum planted in the heart of a respectable Negro district. One thing, however, seldom occurs: the best of the whites and the best of the negroes almost never live in anything like close proximity. It thus happens that in nearly every Southern town and city, both whites and blacks see commonly the worst of each other. This is a vast change from the situation in the past when through the close contact of master and house-servant in the patriarchal big house, one found the best of both races in close contact and sympathy, while at the same time the squalor and dull round of toil among the field hands was removed from the sight and hearing of the family. One can easily see how a person who saw slavery thus from his father's parlors and sees freedom on the streets of a great city fails to grasp or comprehend the whole of the new picture. On the other hand the settled belief of the mass of the Negroes that the Southern white people do not have the black man's best interests at heart has been intensified in later years by this continual daily contact of the better class of blacks with the worst representatives of the white race.

Coming now to the economic relations of the races we are on ground made familiar by study, much discussion and no little philanthropic effort. And yet with all this there are many essential elements in the co-operation of Negroes and whites for work and wealth, that are too readily overlooked or not thoroughly understood. The average American can easily conceive of a rich land awaiting development and filled with black laborers. To him the Southern problem is simply that of making efficient workingmen out of this material by giving them the requisite technical skill and the help of invested capital. The problem, however, is by no means as simple as this, from the obvious fact that these workingmen have been trained for centuries as slaves. They exhibit, therefore, all the advantages and defects of such

training ; they are willing and good-natured, but not self-reliant, provident or careful. If now the economic development of the South is to be pushed to the verge of exploitation, as seems probable, then you have a mass of workingmen thrown into relentless competition with the workingmen of the world but handicapped by a training the very opposite to that of the modern self-reliant democratic laborer. What the black laborer needs is careful personal guidance, group leadership of men with hearts in their bosoms, to train them to foresight, carefulness and honesty. Nor does it require any fine-spun theories of racial differences to prove the necessity of such group training after the brains of the race have been knocked out by two hundred and fifty years of assiduous education in submission, carelessness and stealing. After emancipation it was the plain duty of some one to assume this group leadership and training of the Negro laborer. I will not stop here to inquire *whose* duty it was—whether that of the white ex-master who had profited by unpaid toil, or the Northern philanthropist whose persistence brought the crisis, or of the National Government whose edict freed the bondsmen—I will not stop to ask *whose* duty it was, but I insist it was the duty of *some one* to see that these workingmen were not left alone and unguided without capital, landless, without skill, without economic organization, without even the bald protection of law, order and decency ; left in a great land not to settle down to slow and careful internal development, but destined to be thrown almost immediately into relentless, sharp competition with the best of modern workingmen under an economic system where every participant is fighting for himself, and too often utterly regardless of the rights or welfare of his neighbor.

For we must never forget that the economic system of the South to-day which has succeeded the old régime is not the same system as that of the old industrial North, of England or of France with their trades unions, their restrictive laws, their written and unwritten commercial customs and their

long experience. It is rather a copy of that England of the early nineteenth century, before the factory acts, the England that wrung pity from thinkers and fired the wrath of Carlyle. The rod of empire that passed from the hands of Southern gentlemen in 1865, partly by force, partly by their own petulance, has never returned to them. Rather it has passed to those men who have come to take charge of the industrial exploitation of the New South—the sons of poor whites fired with a new thirst for wealth and power, thrifty and avaricious Yankees, shrewd and unscrupulous Jews. Into the hands of these men the Southern laborers, white and black, have fallen, and this to their sorrow. For the laborers as such there is in these new captains of industry neither love nor hate, neither sympathy nor romance—it is a cold question of dollars and dividends. Under such a system all labor is bound to suffer. Even the white laborers are not yet intelligent, thrifty and well trained enough to maintain themselves against the powerful inroads of organized capital. The result among them even, is long hours of toil, low wages, child labor, and lack of protection against usury and cheating. But among the black laborers all this is aggravated, first, by a race prejudice which varies from a doubt and distrust among the best element of whites to a frenzied hatred among the worst ; and, secondly, it is aggravated, as I have said before, by the wretched economic heritage of the freedmen from slavery. With this training it is difficult for the freedman to learn to grasp the opportunities already opened to him, and the new opportunities are seldom given him but go by favor to the whites.

Left by the best elements of the South with little protection or oversight, he has been made in law and custom the victim of the worst and most unscrupulous men in each community. The crop-lien system which is depopulating the fields of the South is not simply the result of shiftlessness on the part of Negroes but is also the result of cunningly devised laws as to mortgages, liens and misdemeanors which

can be made by conscienceless men to entrap and snare the unwary until escape is impossible, further toil a farce, and protest a crime. I have seen in the black belt of Georgia an ignorant, honest Negro buy and pay for a farm in installments three separate times, and then in the face of law and decency the enterprising Russian Jew who sold it to him pocketed money and deed and left the black man landless, to labor on his own land at thirty cents a day. I have seen a black farmer fall in debt to a white storekeeper and that storekeeper go to his farm and strip it of every single marketable article—mules, plows, stored crops, tools, furniture, bedding, clocks, looking-glass, and all this without a warrant, without process of law, without a sheriff or officer, in the face of the law for homestead exemptions, and without rendering to a single responsible person any account or reckoning. And such proceedings can happen and will happen in any community where a class of ignorant toilers are placed by custom and race prejudice beyond the pale of sympathy and race brotherhood. So long as the best elements of a community do not feel in duty bound to protect and train and care for the weaker members of their group they leave them to be preyed upon by these swindlers and rascals.

This unfortunate economic situation does not mean the hindrance of all advance in the black south, or the absence of a class of black landlords and mechanics who, in spite of disadvantages, are accumulating property and making good citizens. But it does mean that this class is not nearly so large as a fairer economic system might easily make it, that those who survive in the competition are handicapped so as to accomplish much less than they deserve to, and that above all, the personnel of the successful class is left to chance and accident, and not to any intelligent culling or reasonable methods of selection. As a remedy for this, there is but one possible procedure. We must accept some of the race prejudice in the South as a

fact—deplorable in its intensity, unfortunate in results, and dangerous for the future, but nevertheless a hard fact which only time can efface. We cannot hope then in this generation, or for several generations, that the mass of the whites can be brought to assume that close sympathetic and self-sacrificing leadership of the blacks which their present situation so eloquently demands. Such leadership, such social teaching and example, must come from the blacks themselves. For sometime men doubted as to whether the Negro could develop such leaders, but to-day no one seriously disputes the capability of individual Negroes to assimilate the culture and common sense of modern civilization, and to pass it on to some extent, at least, to their fellows. If this be true, then here is the path out of the economic situation, and here is the imperative demand for trained Negro leaders of character and intelligence, men of skill, men of light and leading, college-bred men, black captains of industry and missionaries of culture. Men who thoroughly comprehend and know modern civilization and can take hold of Negro communities and raise and train them by force of precept and example, deep sympathy and the inspiration of common blood and ideals. But if such men are to be effective they must have some power—they must be backed by the best public opinion of these communities, and able to wield for their objects and aims such weapons as the experience of the world has taught are indispensable to human progress,

Of such weapons the greatest, perhaps, in the modern world is the power of the ballot, and this brings me to a consideration of the third form of contact between whites and blacks in the South—political activity.

In the attitude of the American mind toward Negro suffrage, can be traced with singular accuracy the prevalent conceptions of government. In the sixties we were near enough the echoes of the French Revolution to believe pretty thoroughly in universal suffrage. We argued, as we

thought then rather logically, that no social class was so good, so true and so disinterested as to be trusted wholly with the political destiny of their neighbors ; that in every state the best arbiters of their own welfare are the persons directly affected, consequently it is only by arming every hand with a ballot—with the right to have a voice in the policy of the state—that the greatest good to the greatest number could be attained. To be sure there were objections to these arguments, but we thought we had answered them tersely and convincingly ; if some one complained of the ignorance of voters, we answered : “ Educate them.” If another complained of their venality we replied : “ Disfranchise them or put them in jail.” And finally to the men who feared demagogues and the natural perversity of some human beings, we insisted that time and bitter experience would teach the most hardheaded. It was at this time that the question of Negro suffrage in the South was raised. Here was a defenseless people suddenly made free. How were they to be protected from those who did not believe in their freedom and were determined to thwart it? Not by force, said the North ; not by government guardianship, said the South ; then by the ballot, the sole and legitimate defense of a free people, said the Common Sense of the nation. No one thought at the time that the *ex-slaves* could use the ballot intelligently or very effectively, but they did think that the possession of so great power, by a great class in the nation would compel their fellows to educate this class to its intelligent use.

Meantime new thoughts came to the nation: the inevitable period of moral retrogression and political trickery that ever follows in the wake of war overtook us. So flagrant became the political scandals that reputable men began to leave politics alone, and politics consequently became disreputable. Men began to pride themselves on having nothing to do with their own government and to agree tacitly with those who regarded public office as a private perquisite. In this

state of mind it became easy to wink at the suppression of the Negro vote in the South, and to advise self-respecting Negroes to leave politics entirely alone. The decent and reputable citizens of the North who neglected their own civic duties grew hilarious over the exaggerated importance with which the Negro regarded the franchise. Thus it easily happened that more and more the better class of Negroes followed the advice from abroad and the pressure from home and took no further interest in politics, leaving to the careless and the venal of their race the exercise of their rights as voters. This black vote which still remained was not trained and educated but further debauched by open and unblushing bribery, or force and fraud, until the Negro voter was thoroughly inoculated with the idea that politics was a method of private gain by disreputable means.

And finally, now, to-day, when we are awakening to the fact that the perpetuity of republican institutions on this continent depends on the purification of the ballot, the civic training of voters, and the raising of voting to the plane of a solemn duty which a patriotic citizen neglects to his peril and to the peril of his children's children—in this day when we are striving for a renaissance of civic virtue, what are we going to say to the black voter of the South? Are we going to tell him still that politics is a disreputable and useless form of human activity? Are we going to induce the best class of Negroes to take less and less interest in government and give up their right to take such an interest without a protest? I am not saying a word against all legitimate efforts to purge the ballot of ignorance, pauperism and crime. But few have pretended that the present movement for disfranchisement in the South is for such a purpose; it has been plainly and frankly declared in nearly every case that the object of the disfranchising laws is the elimination of the black man from politics.

Now is this a minor matter which has no influence on the main question of the industrial and intellectual development

of the Negro? Can we establish a mass of black laborers, artisans and landholders in the South who by law and public opinion have absolutely no voice in shaping the laws under which they live and work. Can the modern organization of industry, assuming as it does free democratic government and the power and ability of the laboring classes to compel respect for their welfare—can this system be carried out in the South when half its laboring force is voiceless in the public councils and powerless in its own defense? To-day the black man of the South has almost nothing to say as to how much he shall be taxed, or how those taxes shall be expended ; as to who shall execute the laws and how they shall do it ; as to who shall make the laws and how they shall be made. It is pitiable that frantic efforts must be made at critical times to get lawmakers in some states even to listen to the respectful presentation of the black side of a current controversy. Daily the Negro is coming more and more to look upon law and justice not as protecting safeguards but as sources of humiliation and oppression. The laws are made by men who as yet have little interest in him ; they are executed by men who have absolutely no motive for treating the black people with courtesy or consideration, and finally the accused lawbreaker is tried not by his peers but too often by men who would rather punish ten innocent Negroes than let one guilty one escape.

I should be the last one to deny the patent weaknesses and shortcomings of the Negro people ; I should be the last to withhold sympathy from the white South in its efforts to solve its intricate social problems. I freely acknowledge that it is possible and sometimes best that a partially undeveloped people should be ruled by the best of their stronger and better neighbors for their own good, until such time as they can start and fight the world's battles alone. I have already pointed out how sorely in need of such economic and spiritual guidance the emancipated Negro was, and I am quite willing to admit that if the representatives of the

best white southern public opinion were the ruling and guiding powers in the South to-day that the conditions indicated would be fairly well fulfilled. But the point I have insisted upon and now emphasize again is that the best opinion of the South to-day is not the ruling opinion. That to leave the Negro helpless and without a ballot to-day is to leave him not to the guidance of the best but rather to the exploitation and debauchment of the worst; that this is no truer of the South than of the North—of the North than of Europe—in any land, in any country under modern free competition, to lay any class of weak and despised people, be they white, black or blue, at the political mercy of their stronger, richer and more resourceful fellows is a temptation which human nature seldom has and seldom will withstand.

Moreover the political status of the Negro in the South is closely connected with the question of Negro crime. There can be no doubt that crime among Negroes has greatly increased in the last twenty years and that there has appeared in the slums of great cities a distinct criminal class among the blacks. In explaining this unfortunate development we must note two things, (1) that the inevitable result of emancipation was to increase crime and criminals, and (2) that the police system of the South was primarily designed to control slaves. As to the first point we must not forget that under a strict slave régime there can scarcely be such a thing as crime. But when these variously constituted human particles are suddenly thrown broadcast on the sea of life, some swim, some sink, and some hang suspended, to be forced up or down by the chance currents of a busy hurrying world. So great an economic and social revolution as swept the South in '63 meant a weeding out among the Negroes of the incompetents and vicious—the beginning of a differentiation of social grades. Now a rising group of people are not lifted bodily from the ground like an inert solid mass, but rather stretch upward like a living plant with its roots still clinging in the mold. The appearance, therefore, of the Negro criminal was

a phenomenon to be awaited, and while it causes anxiety it should not occasion surprise.

Here again the hope for the future depended peculiarly on careful and delicate dealing with these criminals. Their offenses at first were those of laziness, carelessness and impulse rather than of malignity or ungoverned viciousness. Such misdemeanors needed discriminating treatment, firm but reformatory, with no hint of injustice and full proof of guilt. For such dealing with criminals, white or black, the South had no machinery, no adequate jails or reformatories and a police system arranged to deal with blacks alone, and which tacitly assumed that every white man was *ipso facto* a member of that police. Thus grew up a double system of justice which erred on the white side by undue leniency and the practical immunity of red-handed criminals, and erred on the black side by undue severity, injustice and lack of discrimination. For, as I have said, the police system of the South was originally designed to keep track of all Negroes, not simply of criminals, and when the Negroes were freed and the whole South was convinced of the impossibility of free Negro labor, the first and almost universal device was to use the courts as a means of re-enslaving the blacks. It was not then a question of crime but rather of color that settled a man's conviction on almost any charge. Thus Negroes came to look upon courts as instruments of injustice and oppression, and upon those convicted in them as martyrs and victims.

When now the real Negro criminal appeared and, instead of petty stealing and vagrancy, we began to have highway robbery, burglary, murder and rape, it had a curious effect on both sides the color line; the Negroes refused to believe the evidence of white witnesses or the fairness of white juries, so that the greatest deterrent to crime, the public opinion of one's own social caste was lost and the criminal still looked upon as crucified rather than hanged. On the other hand the whites, used to being careless as to the guilt or inno-

cence of accused Negroes, were swept in moments of passion beyond law, reason and decency. Such a situation is bound to increase crime and has increased it. To natural viciousness and vagrancy is being daily added motives of revolt and revenge which stir up all the latent savagery of both races and make peaceful attention to economic development often impossible.

But the chief problem in any community cursed with crime is not the punishment of the criminals but the preventing of the young from being trained to crime. And here again the peculiar conditions of the South have prevented proper precautions. I have seen twelve-year-old boys working in chains on the public streets of Atlanta, directly in front of the schools, in company with old and hardened criminals; and this indiscriminate mingling of men, women and children makes the chain-gangs perfect schools of crime and debauchery. The struggle for reformatories which has gone on in Virginia, Georgia and other states is the one encouraging sign of the awakening of some communities to the suicidal results of this policy.

It is the public schools, however, which can be made outside the homes the greatest means of training decent self-respecting citizens. We have been so hotly engaged recently in discussing trade schools and the higher education that the pitiable plight of the public school system in the South has almost dropped from view. Of every five dollars spent for public education in the State of Georgia the white schools get four dollars and the Negro one dollar, and even then the white public school system, save in the cities, is bad and cries for reform. If this be true of the whites, what of the blacks? I am becoming more and more convinced as I look upon the system of common school training in the South that the national government must soon step in and aid popular education in some way. To-day it has been only by the most strenuous efforts on the part of the thinking men of the South that the Negro's share of the school fund has not been cut

down to a pittance in some half dozen states, and that movement not only is not dead but in many communities is gaining strength. What in the name of reason does this nation expect of a people poorly trained and hard pressed in severe economic competition, without political rights and with ludicrously inadequate common school facilities? What can it expect but crime and listlessness, offset here and there by the dogged struggles of the fortunate and more determined who are themselves buoyed by the hope that in due time the country will come to its senses?

I have thus far sought to make clear the physical economic and political relations of the Negroes and whites in the South as I have conceived them, including for the reasons set forth, crime and education. But after all that has been said on these more tangible matters of human contact there still remains a part essential to a proper description of the South which it is difficult to describe or fix in terms easily understood by strangers. It is, in fine, the atmosphere of the land, the thought and feeling, the thousand and one little actions which go to make up life. In any community or nation it is these little things which are most elusive to the grasp and yet most essential to any clear conception of the group life, taken as a whole. What is thus true of all communities is peculiarly true of the South where, outside of written history and outside of printed law, there has been going on for a generation, as deep a storm and stress of human souls, as intense a ferment of feeling, as intricate a writhing of spirit as ever a people experienced. Within and without the sombre veil of color, vast social forces have been at work, efforts for human betterment, movements toward disintegration and despair, tragedies and comedies in social and economic life, and a swaying and lifting and sinking of human hearts which have made this land a land of mingled sorrow and joy, of change and excitement.

The centre of this spiritual turmoil has ever been the millions of black freedmen and their sons, whose destiny is

so fatefully bound up with that of the nation. And yet the casual observer visiting the South sees at first little of this. He notes the growing frequency of dark faces as he rides on, but otherwise the days slip lazily on, the sun shines and this little world seems as happy and contented as other worlds he has visited. Indeed, on the question of questions, the Negro problem, he hears so little that there almost seems to be a conspiracy of silence; the morning papers seldom mention it, and then usually in a far-fetched academic way, and indeed almost every one seems to forget and ignore the darker half of the land, until the astonished visitor is inclined to ask if after all there *is* any problem here. But if he lingers long enough there comes the awakening: perhaps in a sudden whirl of passion which leaves him gasping at its bitter intensity; more likely in a gradually dawning sense of things he had not at first noticed. Slowly but surely his eyes begin to catch the shadows of the color line; here he meets crowds of Negroes and whites; then he is suddenly aware that he cannot discover a single dark face; or again at the close of a day's wandering he may find himself in some strange assembly, where all faces are tinged brown or black, and where he has the vague uncomfortable feeling of the stranger. He realizes at last that silently, resistlessly, the world about flows by him in two great streams. They ripple on in the same sunshine, they approach here and mingle their waters in seeming carelessness, they divide then and flow wide apart. It is done quietly, no mistakes are made, or if one occurs the swift arm of the law and public opinion swings down for a moment, as when the other day a black man and a white woman were arrested for talking together on Whitehall street, in Atlanta.

Now if one notices carefully one will see that between these two worlds, despite much physical contact and daily intermingling, there is almost no community of intellectual life or points of transference where the thoughts and feelings of one race can come with direct contact and sympathy with

the thoughts and feelings of the other. Before and directly after the war when all the best of the Negroes were domestic servants in the best of the white families, there were bonds of intimacy, affection, and sometimes blood relationship between the races. They lived in the same home, shared in the family life, attended the same church often and talked and conversed with each other. But the increasing civilization of the Negro since has naturally meant the development of higher classes: there are increasing numbers of ministers, teachers, physicians, merchants, mechanics and independent farmers, who by nature and training are the aristocracy and leaders of the blacks. Between them, however, and the best element of the whites, there is little or no intellectual commerce. They go to separate churches, they live in separate sections, they are strictly separated in all public gatherings, they travel separately, and they are beginning to read different papers and books. To most libraries, lectures, concerts and museums Negroes are either not admitted at all or on terms peculiarly galling to the pride of the very classes who might otherwise be attracted. The daily paper chronicles the doings of the black world from afar with no great regard for accuracy; and so on throughout the category of means for intellectual communication; schools, conferences, efforts for social betterment and the like, it is usually true that the very representatives of the two races who for mutual benefit and the welfare of the land ought to be in complete understanding and sympathy are so far strangers that one side thinks all whites are narrow and prejudiced and the other thinks educated Negroes dangerous and insolent. Moreover, in a land where the tyranny of public opinion and the intolerance of criticism is for obvious historical reasons so strong as in the South, such a situation is extremely difficult to correct. The white man as well as the Negro is bound and tied by the color line and many a scheme of friendliness and philanthropy, of broad-minded sympathy, and generous fellowship between the two has

dropped still-born because some busy-body has forced the color question to the front and brought the tremendous force of unwritten law against the innovators.

It is hardly necessary for me to add to this very much in regard to the social contact between the races. Nothing has come to replace that finer sympathy and love between some masters and house servants, which the radical and more uncompromising drawing of the color line in recent years has caused almost completely to disappear. In a world where it means so much to take a man by the hand and sit beside him ; to look frankly into his eyes and feel his heart beating with red blood—in a world where a social cigar or a cup of tea together means more than legislative halls and magazine articles and speeches, one can imagine the consequences of the almost utter absence of such social amenities between estranged races, whose separation extends even to parks and street cars.

Here there can be none of that social going down to the people ; the opening of heart and hand of the best to the worst, in generous acknowledgment of a common humanity and a common destiny. On the other hand, in matters of simple almsgiving, where there be no question of social contact, and in the succor of the aged and sick, the South, as if stirred by a feeling of its unfortunate limitations, is generous to a fault. The black beggar is never turned away without a good deal more than a crust, and a call for help for the unfortunate meets quick response. I remember, one cold winter, in Atlanta, when I refrained from contributing to a public relief fund lest Negroes should be discriminated against ; I afterward inquired of a friend : "Were any black people receiving aid?" "Why," said he, "they were *all* black."

And yet this does not touch the kernel of the problem. Human advancement is not a mere question of almsgiving, but rather of sympathy and co-operation among classes who would scorn charity. And here is a land where, in the higher walks of life, in all the higher striving for the good

and noble and true, the color line comes to separate natural friends and co-workers, while at the bottom of the social group in the saloon, the gambling hell and the bawdy-house that same line wavers and disappears.

I have sought to paint an average picture of real relations between the races in the South. I have not glossed over matters for policy's sake, for I fear we have already gone too far in that sort of thing. On the other hand I have sincerely sought to let no unfair exaggerations creep in. I do not doubt but that in some Southern communities conditions are far better than those I have indicated. On the other hand, I am certain that in other communities they are far worse.

Nor does the paradox and danger of this situation fail to interest and perplex the best conscience of the South. Deeply religious and intensely democratic as are the mass of the whites, they feel acutely the false position in which the Negro problems place them. Such an essentially honest-hearted and generous people cannot cite the caste-leveling precepts of Christianity, or believe in equality of opportunity for all men, without coming to feel more and more with each generation that the present drawing of the color line is a flat contradiction to their beliefs and professions. But just as often as they come to this point the present social condition of the Negro stands as a menace and a portent before even the most open-minded: if there were nothing to charge against the Negro but his blackness or other physical peculiarities, they argue, the problem would be comparatively simple; but what can we say to his ignorance, shiftlessness, poverty and crime: can a self-respecting group hold anything but the least possible fellowship with such persons and survive? and shall we let a mawkish sentiment sweep away the culture of our fathers or the hope of our children? The argument so put is of great strength but it is not a whit stronger than the argument of thinking Negroes; granted, they reply, that the condition of our masses is bad, there is certainly on the one hand adequate

historical cause for this, and unmistakable evidence that no small number have, in spite of tremendous disadvantages, risen to the level of American civilization. And when by proscription and prejudice, these same Negroes are classed with, and treated like the lowest of their people simply *because* they are Negroes, such a policy not only discourages thrift and intelligence among black men, but puts a direct premium on the very things you complain of—inefficiency and crime. Draw lines of crime, of incompetency, of vice as tightly and uncompromisingly as you will, for these things must be proscribed, but a color line not only does not accomplish this purpose, but thwarts it.

In the face of two such arguments, the future of the South depends on the ability of the representatives of these opposing views to see and appreciate, and sympathize with each other's position ; for the Negro to realize more deeply than he does at present the need of uplifting the masses of his people, for the white people to realize more vividly than they have yet done the deadening and disastrous effect of a color prejudice that classes Paul Lawrence Dunbar and Sam Hose in the same despised class.

It is not enough for the Negroes to declare that color prejudice is the sole cause of their social condition, nor for the white South to reply that their social condition is the main cause of prejudice. They both act as reciprocal cause and effect and a change in neither *alone* will bring the desired effect. Both must change or neither can improve to any great extent. The Negro cannot stand the present reactionary tendencies and unreasoning drawing of the color line much longer without discouragement and retrogression. And the condition of the Negro is ever the excuse for further discrimination. Only by a union of intelligence and sympathy across the color line in this critical period of the Republic shall justice and right triumph, and

" Mind and heart according well,
Shall make one music as before,
But vaster."

IV. The Races of the West Indies

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Our Relation to the People of Cuba and Porto Rico

**By Hon. Orville H. Platt, United States Senator from
Connecticut**

(143)

OUR RELATION TO THE PEOPLE OF CUBA AND PORTO RICO.

By HON. ORVILLE H. PLATT,
United States Senator from Connecticut.

We have undertaken the solution of a very difficult problem in Cuba. When we went to war with Spain we declared that the people of Cuba ought to be free and independent, and we therefore disclaimed any purpose to acquire the island, and promised that when its pacification should be accomplished we would leave it to its people. To this declaration and promise we are solemnly pledged as a nation. Reduced to its simplest terms our pledge is this: that the United States becomes responsible for the establishment and orderly continuance of republican government in Cuba. If, as some seem to suppose, the full performance of our obligation only requires us to see that a so-called republic is organized there, the task is comparatively easy, but if we are also bound to provide for the orderly continuance of a genuine republic it is by no means easy. That the latter duty is as imperative as the former, can scarcely be questioned. Indeed, it seems to be questioned only in a technical way. Certain self-constituted and virulent critics try to maintain that our promise to leave the island to its people as soon as it should be pacified meant that when we should have driven out Spain we would ourselves retire and have nothing further to do with its affairs, either by way of guiding the Cubans in the establishment of their government, or assisting them to maintain their independence.

In other words, it seems to be supposed by these carping people that the United States has no interests to protect in the Island of Cuba and that no matter what its people may do, we are only to look on. But even these critics admit

that if conditions under the new government shall become intolerable, intervention will again be justifiable and imperative. They would have us at once terminate our military occupation leaving the future uncared for with the expectation that, should troubles arise there, either by reason of foreign demands or internal disorders, by which our interests are imperiled, we will return in force to set matters right again. It seems scarcely possible that such a policy should find advocates in any quarter. Unless we provide now for continued independence and peace in the Island of Cuba there is no way in which they can be assured unless, in case the necessity arises, we declare war and enter upon the business of subjugating and annexing it. It must be seen by all who have the real welfare of our country at heart that our only true policy is to see that a republican government is now established under conditions which recognize our right to maintain its stability and prosperity. Cuba has menaced our peace quite too long, and having once undertaken to remedy an intolerable condition there it would be inexcusable folly to ignore the possibility and indeed probability of future trouble, or to fail to guard against its recurrence.

All rights acquired by the act of intervention exist except so far as they are limited by the resolution of Congress, and the only limitation imposed by that legislation rightly construed is that we will not claim Cuba as a part of the United States. We took temporary possession of the island with a self-imposed trust which requires us to allow its people to establish a free and independent government, and also to assist in its maintenance as an orderly, stable, and beneficent one. The difficulty of the situation arises from the fact that it would be improper for the United States to dictate the provisions of the constitution which is to be the basis of the new government, except to an extent necessary for its own self-protection, and the discharge of obligations growing out of its intervention. We have a right to insist that there shall be provisions in the constitution of Cuba, or

attached to it by way of an ordinance, which will clearly define the relations which are to exist between the two countries, but all matters relating to the system and detail of government should be left to the people of Cuba alone. For instance, although we may feel that universal suffrage will result in trouble and difficulty, we manifestly have no right to prescribe the elective franchise.

The framework of government must be left by us to the constitutional convention without dictation or mandatory suggestion. So far as the rights of the people are concerned they must be left absolutely free to declare them. So far as our rights are concerned, we may insist on their recognition without in any way impairing or interfering with the independence of Cuba. The war with Spain was undertaken to put an end to intolerable conditions not only shocking to humanity, but menacing our welfare, and our work was but half done when the authority of Spain was destroyed. We became responsible to the people of Cuba, to ourselves, and the world at large, that a good government should be established and maintained in place of the bad one to which we put an end. The practical question then is, in what way can the United States provide for a government in Cuba which shall not only secure the blessings of liberty there in their full exercise, but shall also secure to the United States the results of good government in a country so closely adjoining us?

The right to intervene for the abolition of a bad government, and the right to intervene for the maintenance of a good government in Cuba, rest upon the same foundation. It is as much our duty to exercise our power in the maintenance of an independent, stable and peaceful government there as it was to exercise it in the destruction of a monarchical, oppressive and inhuman one. Duty and self-interest coincide in this respect. The extension of the principles and institutions of free government, wherever possible and practicable, is no less our duty than the protection of our

own citizens in all their rights and interests in a foreign country. By every consideration, then, which can bind a nation, we are committed and pledged to the policy of permitting the people of Cuba to establish, for and by themselves, a republican government for the continuance and maintenance of which we are to be responsible.

If the element of our responsibility were eliminated from the problem, it would be quite safe to say that the experiment of free government has never been attempted in the world under circumstances less favorable to permanent success. To insure the success of free government, certain conditions seem indispensable. There must be a homogeneous people possessed of a high degree of virtue and intelligence. A sentimental longing for liberty will not of itself insure the maintenance of a republic. Liberty is a word of quite elastic meaning. License is not true liberty. It is orderly liberty only which constitutes the sure basis of free government. That government only is really free and independent where liberty is restrained and buttressed by law, and where the supposed rights of the individual are limited by the rights of all. To establish such liberty there must be an intelligent understanding of the social system and a comprehension of the just principles upon which true government must always rest. The consent of the governed must be an intelligent consent. Where the capacity to consent does not exist, no government can be permanently maintained upon such consent. Where a majority of voters neither understand nor respect the true principles of government, there may be a republic in name, but in fact it will only be a dictatorship, in which the purpose and power of its president control rather than the consent of the governed.

Social, racial and economic conditions in Cuba do not at first sight promise well for the permanence of republican government. In passing, we must remember the fact that none of its people have had any experience in self-government, and the further fact that all their notions of govern-

ment have been framed and moulded by the history and administration of one of the most arbitrary and corrupt the world has ever known. The lines which mark the division of classes are most distinctly drawn, and the interests of the different classes are most diverse.

The census of Cuba recently taken fails to give us statistics in many important particulars. It informs us as to the proportion of the white and colored population, and of the native and foreign born. It shows that the number engaged in gainful occupations is somewhat larger comparatively than in the United States, but it fails to give us any statistics as to property and wealth.

Cuba is essentially an agricultural state. Its soil is very fertile and its climate is such that a failure of crops is seldom known. It has hitherto had the disadvantage that its agriculture industry was mainly concentrated in the production of two crops only, sugar and tobacco. While there is opportunity for great diversification of agriculture, the profits arising from sugar and tobacco have been such that other products have been neglected. The foreign trade of the island, exports and imports combined, has amounted to \$100,000,000 annually, and when we reflect that this foreign trade is from an island containing only a million and half of people, it is easy to see how profitable these two products have been under favorable conditions. As a result of these industries, there was, before the war with Spain, great wealth in Cuba. The distinction made between Spaniards and Cubans is simply that of birthplace, persons born in Spain being classed as Spaniards, and all persons born in Cuba, being classed as Cubans.

The Spaniards are the wealthy class. They are commercial people. They carry on trade and business, loan money, but do not as a class acquire landed property. They are merchants, bankers, traders, money lenders; they have all the commercial instincts and characteristics of the Jew, derived perhaps from the Jewish population of Spain in

former times. The proportion of Spaniards to the entire population is small—130,000 only in round numbers, at the time of taking the census, out of a total population of 1,600,000, were Spaniards. About sixty per cent of this number, under the treaty of Paris, retained their allegiance to Spain. The proportion of adult males among Spaniards is very much greater than that of any other class of the population, 86,000 out of 130,000 being males over twenty-one years of age. Most of the ready money of the island is controlled by these Spaniards.

The land of Cuba is owned, generally speaking, by white Cubans. The number of land-owners in proportion to the population is not given, but their number is comparatively small. Considerable quantities of land are owned by persons residing in Spain and other countries, but the cultivated part of the island has been owned very largely by these Cuban planters. In recent times, some Americans and other foreigners have acquired estates, but the percentage of land thus held is small. It may then be said that the wealth and property of the island is concentrated in the hands of the Spaniards and a comparatively few white Cubans. Small holdings by persons cultivating land, as in the United States, are practically unknown in Cuba. The larger proportion of the inhabitants, both white and colored, are not property-holders and have no direct interest in the soil or in the business of the island.

The classes controlling wealth and property took little or no part in the revolution. The Spaniards, of course, were loyal to Spain, and most of the Cuban land-owners tried to preserve their neutrality as between the revolutionists and the Spanish government, often paying tribute to both sides in the hope of saving their estates from destruction. There is little sympathy between the wealthy and land-owning classes in Cuba and the great bulk of its population. The active revolutionary element consisted of white Cubans, who, as has been said, have little or no property interests

at stake ; they were the officers of the insurgent forces ; the mulattoes constituted the rank and file, or fighting element of the revolution.

Naturally the conservative and property-holding class, and the radical and revolutionary class, thoroughly distrust each other. Property owners think property will not be safe if the revolutionary element shall be in control, and the radicals think that the property-owning and business element secretly favors annexation, in which it is encouraged by the United States. For this reason principally the radical leaders exhibit symptoms of hostility toward us. Those who own property in Cuba do look to the United States for protection; quite likely they are annexationists at heart. While there is little or no annexation sentiment in the United States, it is almost impossible to convince Cubans of that fact. The radicals think that we are not sincere when we tell them that annexation is the last thing desired by the United States, and the conservatives hope that in the end events may necessitate annexation.

If the present Cuban leaders can be brought to understand and realize that the United States is as much opposed to annexation as they are, fully sympathizes with them in their desire for independence and has no intention of limiting or impairing that independence, their objection to the propositions submitted to them by Congress, defining our future relations, will doubtless be modified. Cuban property owners felt the oppression of Spain but feared a government which would be established if the revolutionists succeeded, quite as much as they did the Spanish government. Such fear still continues, and as they are in a minority, they have hitherto refrained from any participation in the effort to establish a new government, confidently expecting the United States to protect them in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property.

Politically, the people may be divided into five classes. First, Spaniards, including both those who have retained

their Spanish allegiance and those who have become Cuban citizens ; second, Autonomists, or white Cubans, who remained loyal during the war and undertook the task of organizing government under the autonomy at last conceded by Spain ; third, white Cubans, who tried to preserve their neutrality ; fourth, white Cuban revolutionists ; and fifth, the colored class, a large proportion of which participated in the revolution. Between these different classes there is little of sympathy, much of distrust. Even the Spaniards and the Autonomists do not affiliate, and at present there seems little prospect that there can be any political union among those who may be called the conservative people of Cuba. Their interests would lead them to unite, but their prejudices and suspicions forbid.

There remains, then, the larger proportion of Cuban citizens who may be classed as radical revolutionists. In the United States they would be called agitators. Delegates representing this class of the population appear to be in control of the Cuban constitutional convention. They seem to feel that by reason of the fact that they were revolutionists they alone are entitled to take part in the establishment and management of a new government.

They have very imperfect ideas of the practical duties or responsibilities of a free government, but are intensely devoted to liberty as they understand it. Instead of being grateful to the United States for the part it took in the liberation of Cuba, they appear to cherish a spirit of hostility towards us because they have not already been put in actual possession of the government. Under the military government of the island they have held and still hold nearly all of the civil offices, but recognize very little obligation to that government. One thing must be understood. Every Cuban, whether a revolutionist or otherwise, is essentially Spanish in all his traits and characteristics. There are as yet no well-defined political parties in Cuba. The conservatives have not been able to affiliate sufficiently to organize a

conservative party, and party divisions among the revolutionists are not based upon different policies or principles, but rather upon individual leadership. The social and economic conditions, thus briefly outlined, do not on their face promise much for permanence of republican government, but as time progresses, necessity and mutual interest may wear away prejudices and distrust, and permit something like united effort by the more conservative classes.

In addition to the difficulties enumerated, there is the inevitable race problem. There is not as yet a race issue in Cuban politics. Whether there will be, time only can determine. Prejudice on account of color is either less than in the United States or of a different quality. Certainly neither blacks nor mixed bloods are regarded as inferiors to the same extent as with us, and in the matter of social distinction color plays but a comparatively unimportant part. White and colored laborers work side by side without friction or contention. Maceo was honored and esteemed as perhaps the ablest revolutionary general, and Gualberto Gomez is regarded as one of the ablest delegates in the constitutional convention. Universal suffrage was adopted in the proposed constitution without a suggestion and presumably without a thought that a colored man was not as much entitled to be a voter as a white man.

The colored people, including blacks and mixed bloods, constitute about one-third of the population of Cuba. In some of the provinces like Santiago and Matanzas, the proportion is much larger; in Santiago forty-five per cent, in Matanzas forty per cent, while in some of the provinces it is comparatively small, in Puerto Principe only twenty per cent. It is an illiterate population. Only twenty-eight per cent of the colored population of the island can read. True, the white population is also illiterate, only forty-nine per cent of which can read. These facts are very suggestive when we consider the possibility of maintaining a republican government. In the ascertainment of these statistics of

illiteracy it is assumed that all children under ten years of age attending school can read, so that the proportion of adult males who can read will be somewhat less than indicated.

The colored population of Cuba differs essentially from that in the United States, or in the other West India Islands. The number of pure blacks is not given in the census. The proportion is small. In appearance they differ essentially from the negro of the United States. They are absolutely black, but their features are more European in cast. They are not thick-lipped, and, except for color, would be taken as splendid physical types of the Caucasian race. How this physical difference is to be accounted for we can only conjecture by assuming that the slaves imported into Cuba came from different sections of Africa than those imported into the United States. The blacks in Cuba appear to be of a superior type as to capacity and efficiency, but the mulatto compares less favorably with the mulatto in the United States. This is accounted for probably both by blood and environment. Mulattoes in the United States are a mixture of the Anglo-Saxon and negro ; in Cuba, of the Spaniard and negro. The negro imitates the whites with whom he is brought up, so in the United States he imitates the character of the Anglo-Saxon ; in Cuba, the character of the Spaniard.

In the United States he therefore naturally aspires to participate in government ; in Cuba he seems to have very little such aspiration. He is industrious, docile, quiet, and cares for little beyond his immediate domestic and industrial surroundings. The colored voter in Cuba is not likely to be a disturbing political element, unless under a sense of wrong and injustice his emotions are excited, then, indeed, he becomes a good fighter, as was proved in the late revolution. He may possibly be influenced by the agitator and demagogue, but it will require a very deep realization of injustice to make him a dangerous factor in the politics of the island. That he will vote intelligently can scarcely be expected. His vote may aid in putting dangerous men in power, but he will

not greatly interest himself in the affairs of the government.

The colored population of Cuba presents a most interesting sociological problem. The admixture of blood in his veins exceeds, perhaps, that of the mulatto in any other part of the world. The Spaniard himself is the result of an admixture of blood running through centuries, and the difference in appearance of Spaniards in Cuba is so great that the type is hardly perceptible. The race problem, as it appears in the white Cuban population, is quite as interesting as when confined to the colored population. The Spaniards in Cuba have come from the different sections of Spain, and the same is true of the ancestors of the white Cubans. Spaniards differ in appearance and characteristics more than the inhabitants of almost any other country. The history of Spain for a thousand years was that of conquest, of colonization and assimilation of its native people with its conquerors and colonies. Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, Goths, Moors and Jews successively occupied Spain, and with the exception of the Jews controlled its government and amalgamated with its people. Its different provinces have developed different types of manhood, and Cuba has received its immigration from every province. Its generals, officials, nobility, soldiery and its peasantry alike peopled Cuba. In the veins of the Cuban mulatto it is thus possible that there runs an infinitesimal current of the blood of Phœnician, Greek, Roman, Gothic and Moorish ancestors transmitted through its Spanish progenitors. We are ourselves becoming a very mixed population, and yet hardly more so than the population of Cuba which we have been wont to call Spanish.

It will be seen, therefore, that the different classes of Cuban population have little in common, except a desire for liberty, as yet scarcely understood, and a pride of country. Whether these two common ties will be strong enough to insure an orderly, well-balanced, peaceful government remains to be seen. The elements of discord are in full play now, and if

these alone were regarded the outlook would not be very hopeful. It is by no means certain, however, that the colored citizens in Cuba may not in the end ally themselves with the conservative rather than with the revolutionary and turbulent forces. A hopeful indication of this is found in the fact that in the province of Santiago, where the colored element is numerically stronger than in any other province, delegates in the convention have been instructed at mass meetings called for that purpose to accept the amendment proposed at the recent session of Congress.

The results of education will not be immediately manifest, but perhaps the most hopeful sign of responsible and permanent government in Cuba is to be seen in the educational work already begun there. If the next few years can be tided over successfully, intelligence will doubtless come to the rescue. At present there is discord, ignorance, and, among the masses of the people, indifference. We must hope that prejudice and suspicion between those who have most at stake will be allayed, that the intelligent and conservative element will more and more assert itself, and that the great need of Cuba for independence, peace and prosperity will unite a majority of its people to labor for that end.

But the real hope for a free Cuba is to be found in the friendly advice and guidance, and, if necessary, the assistance of the United States. There will be no American colonization there in the strict sense of the word. That American capital will go there as soon as there is a government under which its safety is assured, there is no question ; that our American laborers will go there to any considerable extent is improbable, not that climatic conditions are such that it is impossible for them to work and live there, but that industrial conditions will not, for a long time at least, be such as to furnish inducements to the American who desires to support himself by his own labor to emigrate to Cuba. The island may easily support a population of five millions, or, as many think, a much larger number ; but the question of

its increase of population depends largely upon where its laborers are to come from.

There is little prospect that the colored race will increase proportionately from natural causes. The labor required to fully develop its agricultural industries must come from abroad. The American negro is no more likely to go there than the white laborer of the United States. Industrially, then, as well as politically, the future of Cuba depends largely upon its immigration, which at present comes from Northern Spain and the Canary Islands. These immigrants, amounting to 40,000 or more last year, are still Spaniards, but may be classified as Spanish peasantry. They seem adapted to the climate, and the wages which they can command far exceed what they can obtain in their home country. They are industrious, peaceable and domestic—in a word, calculated to make good citizens. If properly treated by the capitalists who employ them, they are liable to constitute not only a stable, but an influential part of the population. Four things, then, seem to promise good results: The guidance and aid of the United States, the education of Cuban children, the probable conservatism of the colored population, and the industrial and peaceful character of probable immigrants. The revolutionary class will not at once abandon the idea that they alone are entitled to govern, and there will doubtless be more or less friction, contention and disturbance, but as time wears on, it is to be hoped that out of confusion order may come.

The hands of the United States are indeed partially tied. There is a limit beyond which it may not go, and yet within the legitimate limits which it has prescribed for itself it can do much. It may not interfere with the liberty of the people of Cuba to establish an independent government, republican in form and fact; it may, and must, for its own protection, and in the discharge of obligations from which it cannot escape if it would, see to it that the independence of Cuba shall not be overthrown, no matter from what quarter it may

be assailed, and that life, property and individual rights shall be as secure there as in the United States.

That the relations which are to exist between the United States and the new government of Cuba must be closer than those between us and any other foreign country will be apparent to the dullest comprehension. So long as any doubt exists of the ability of Cuba to stand alone, the United States must be ready to support her. We must protect her against any demands which will impair her independence, and against any internal dissensions which may threaten the overthrow of republican government. In thus standing ready, and insisting upon our right to protect Cuba, we do not at all contemplate the establishment of a protectorate in any sense in which that term has been used in international law. Our relations with Cuba will be unique. We may best express them by saying that we claim the right to be recognized as the guarantor of Cuban independence and of the stability of its government. To require less than this would be an abandonment of both self-interest and duty.

We propose to leave Cuba free to make treaties with foreign powers not inconsistent with her independence; to enact all legislation which a free and independent government may enact, to manage her own affairs in her own way, provided only that she does not thereby imperil her own safety and our peace. And yet our right to intervene to save Cuba even from herself must be recognized. We cannot permit any foreign power to obtain a foothold in Cuba. We cannot permit disturbances there which threaten the overthrow of her government. We cannot tolerate a condition in which life and property shall be insecure. In all this our position is that of unselfishness. We do not seek our own aggrandisement; we do not ask reimbursement for the lives and treasure spent in the effort to secure the blessings of liberty and free government to Cuba.

We have undertaken to do for her people what no nation in all history has ever undertaken to do for another, namely,

to overthrow an inhuman and iniquitous government in order that a just, humane and beneficent government may be established and maintained in its stead. Half of our work is accomplished, half of it remains to be done. We have no doubt that the remaining half of our duty will be performed in the same spirit and with the same unselfishness which has characterized our work from its commencement. Having put our hand to the plow, we may not, and will not, look back. It is a great and glorious work which we have undertaken. The difficulties and intricacies which confront us should only stimulate us to a more conscientious performance of duty. In spite of all discouragement we look for a free and regenerated Cuba, for which we may with self-respect and even pride stand sponsor.

The Spanish Population of Cuba and Porto Rico

By Mr. Charles M. Pepper, Washington. D. C.

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THE SPANISH POPULATION OF CUBA AND PORTO RICO.

By MR. CHARLES M. PEPPER,
Of Washington, D. C.

In any discussion of the natives of Cuba and Porto Rico, it is not possible entirely to separate the Latin from the African race. They exist together in those Islands and their future is woven together inseparably. Each race has kept its own identity, yet there has been a reciprocal or a mutual influence. The African has benefited by the tolerance and kindlier consideration, the less pronounced antipathy, of the Spaniard as compared with the Anglo-Saxon. Conversely the Negro has had a steadying influence, if I may so call it, on the Spaniard. I do not mean to say that this has been the result of racial intermixture, but rather that the Negro living side by side with the Latin race has modified the Latin temperament.

It is well to have this knowledge at the outset as it also is well to recognize the status of the Negro. That the advance which has been made may be lost by a disproportionate growth of black population is the spectre of a brooding imagination. Porto Rico has no room for newcomers of the laboring class. The present-day problem there is to find an outlet for an overcrowded population. Cuba can support six times the existing number of inhabitants, but economic and political causes have combined to discourage schemes of Negro colonization, while white immigration from Spain has been in progress for the last two years and is certain to continue. With a perception of these facts it is not necessary to controvert the presumption of the Caucasians in Cuba and Porto Rico being smothered by a black cloud. There will be no smothering of the African either, but there will

be a white preponderance large enough to settle the race question.

We may analyze and study the natives of Cuba and Porto Rico who are of Spanish stock with better understanding when we know that in each Island they comprise substantially two-thirds of the inhabitants, a little less in Porto Rico and a little more in Cuba. This is shown in the census compiled under the direction of the War Department by experts. It is a pleasure to refer to a government publication so comprehensive, so well digested and so trustworthy as these volumes. They furnish an example of the value of utilizing trained intelligence.

By this census we find that in Porto Rico out of a total of 953,243 the native-born inhabitants number 939,371, of whom 578,000 are white and 361,367 colored. In Cuba the proportion is 1,067,354 whites to 505,443 blacks and mulattoes. That means a full million persons of Spanish birth or descent.

"We all know," says Walter Bagehot, "how much a man is apt to be like his ancestors." This observation applies to the natives of both Islands, but with greater force, I think, to those of Cuba. In both instances we may be sure they take after their ancestors from Spain and its adjoining possessions. Nor is the ancestry remote. "Two hundred years," said a chronicler nearly a century ago in describing Porto Rico and her people, "are lost in obscurity." For an understanding of the inhabitants of the present day it is not necessary to grope in darkness seeking to recover those lost pages of history. We know that as in Cuba the Indian race is extinct and that the Indian mixture of which some travelers have discoursed is an imaginary one.

The ancestry of the present generation of Porto Rican natives need not be traced back more than a century and a quarter. Originally the immigration was from the southern part of Spain, Andalusia and Castile having the right to people the Island to the exclusion of the other provinces of

the Peninsula. Andalusia furnished the larger number and left the stronger impress, but in time the prohibition was raised and the emigrants mingled in one stream, which had its sources in all parts of Spain. Ultimately the stream became a swollen one and the little Island, through immigration and natural increase, had all the inhabitants she could sustain. This happened a good many years ago, so it may be said that the major proportion of the natives of Porto Rico are of Spanish blood two or three generations removed. The result we have to-day is a thin-blooded people, living chiefly on vegetable diet and physically degenerated from their sturdy ancestors. It is an agricultural population, the bulk of which is called peons. The majority of the peons live worse than the field laborers, so far as I have been able to observe, anywhere else in the West Indies. Their dwellings are very small, thatched huts raised two or three feet from the ground and rarely containing more than one room, though sometimes there is a board or a canvas partition. The number of inmates seldom is less than half a dozen and more often is ten or twelve. They are prolific in their poverty. Most of them do not own their huts. These belong to the coffee, tobacco or sugar planters. It is a consequence of the old political conditions, which kept the peons practically as serfs of the soil.

The more general term for the Porto Rico countrymen is *gibaros*. The name implies a larger degree of personal independence than applies to the peons, for the *gibaros* often are small land owners. Both peons and *gibaros* are a peaceful, easygoing people, guileless and trustful. As I have found them they are obliging and hospitable, though the population is too crowded for unstinted hospitality. The observer from the north always calls them lazy. Usually they are pictured by travelers as lolling in hammocks or twanging the gourd guitar while waiting for the bread-fruit, the orange or the cocoanut to drop from the overhanging tree into their mouths. Their amusements are sedentary,

the cocking main being the chief one because it requires the least exertion. I am not going to lighten the shades of this picture, yet one or two observations may be in point. The indolence of the tropics is inherent. The visitor from the temperate zone who has had previous experience, if he wants to do anything calling for effort is wise enough to do it at once, for as the days pass he has less inclination for exertion, even where pleasure or entertainment is the object. If the reservoirs of energy stored up by the native of the north are so soon exhausted, how much should be expected from a people who must go back fifty, one hundred or one hundred and fifty years for their original storehouse of energy?

During the Spanish rule the government was placed so far above the people of Porto Rico that they are not to be blamed if, in the beginning, they abuse the broader privileges which have come to them under American institutions. Their first tendency was intolerance. When elections were held they applied literally the doctrine that the spoils belong to the victors. Perhaps American politicians would take this as evidence of a highly developed capacity for self-government. They proposed not only to fill the offices with their own friends, but also to make their enemies pay all the taxes. It was simply the rebound from conditions under which they had no part in filling the offices and no share in raising the taxes.

The tendency to political abstractions may be noted as a part of the Latin temperament. An outcropping of it was seen in Porto Rico. When the American Congress remitted two million dollars of revenue to the Island, one enthusiast proposed that the sum should be expended in erecting a magnificent Temple of Justice. The practical American officials spent the money in building roads and school-houses.

In Cuba native-born persons, whether white or black, or of foreign parentage, are called *Criollos*, or *Creoles*. How-

ever, in common usage the term more often is applied to the white Cubans, and this means chiefly the inhabitants who are of Spanish descent. In the fierce protests against bad government the line between the Spaniards of to-day—that is those born in the Peninsula and its adjacent Islands—and the Spaniards of yesterday—that is those whose fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers were born there—sometimes used to be drawn as if they were alien and antagonistic races. But it does not need a scientific analysis to caution us against mistaking passing and justifiable political passion for racial antipathy when the race is one.

Here I am reminded of what James Anthony Froude, the English historian, said when in his despairing survey of the British West Indies he turned aside to contrast them with the Spanish possessions. "We English," he wrote, "have built in those Islands as if we were but passing visitors wanting only tenements to be occupied for a time. The Spaniards built as they build in Castile and they carried with them their laws, their habits, their institutions and their creed. . . . Whatever the eventual fate of Cuba, the Spanish race has taken root there, and is visibly destined to remain. Spanish, at any rate, they are to the bone and marrow, and Spanish they will continue."

We must go back to Catalonia, Andalusia and the shores of the Mediterranean; to the Canaries and the Balearic Islands; to Asturias, Galicia and the Basque provinces of Spain for the customs, habits, traditions, creed, amusements, language and tendencies of the natives of Cuba. Preferably we should give the most attention to Catalonia, Galicia and Asturias, for it is from these three provinces that the major portion of the later immigration has come.

A certain village in the far interior of Cuba was a hot-house of revolutionary agitation. I visited it at the close of the war when the American military authorities were concerned over the threat of reprisals against the Spaniards. The Cubans professed to hate the whole race and in those

days when long-restrained passion was finding vent they thought they did hate their own parent stem. They told me the two classes had nothing in common. Yet they had everything in common. The well from which the children were drawing water was of even more ancient origin than Spanish, for it was of the older Moorish construction known as the *noria*. That day there was a *fiesta* or church holiday. The *baile*, or dance, which was a feature of the evening celebration, and which I witnessed, varied only a shade from the representation of the customs of Galicia, which I had seen at the leading Spanish theatre in Havana a few evenings previously. The music was an air which had floated over from the Gulf of Biscay. The entertainment provided me at the *posada*, or inn, was such as I had read of in the pages of Gil Blas. The houses were like those in an eighteenth century print of Don Quixote. On a later day mass was celebrated by the priest for the repose of the soul of Antonio Maceo and other Cuban insurgents, and the ceremonial was that of the Spanish Church in the middle ages. After seeing these things I did not give much heed to the Cuban's talk that they hated the whole Spanish race. Root and branch were too much alike for the hatred to endure.

Then there is the *guajiro*, or countryman, seated at the door of his *bohio*, or palm-thatched cabin, playing his guitar. Usually he is portrayed in his broad straw hat with fringed edges, the front turned in a flap and exposing his honest face while the back slopes down over his neck. The hat is known as the *sanjuanero*, because of its universal use on the feast day of St. John the Baptist, a popular Spanish holiday. To the accompaniment of the guitar is sung a ballad, called a *decima*, or a *cancion*. All this is a characteristically Cuban picture. The traveler will see it wherever he goes throughout the Island. Yet it is a Spanish picture, too, and the *decimas* and *canciones*, though the subjects are local, are frequently mere repetitions of the provincial songs and ballads heard among the Spanish peasantry.

Differences are noted in the natives of the different provinces of Cuba, due chiefly to the immigration from which was drawn the original stock. The Spanish strain of blood is preserved in its greatest purity in the central region of Puerto Principe or Camagüey. Though sparsely settled, three-fourths of the population of this section is white. For half a century the Camagüeyans were the most intense revolutionists. They vindicated their Spanish fighting ancestry by their armed opposition to Spanish government. Their free, open-air life and their isolation from the rest of the Island strengthened their independence of a governing country across the seas, yet they kept unchanged Castilian traditions and usages. Sometimes it has seemed to me that among these people could be traced the Moorish blood and a survival of the customs of Granada. The men are stronger physically and more responsive mentally than in other parts of Cuba, and of the women it has been said that they present the Spanish type slightly modified and perhaps embellished by the soft skies of the tropics. The inland city of Puerto Principe, with its narrow streets and overhanging balconies is a perfect reproduction of many towns in Spain. I have been told by travelers that the houses might be mistaken for those of Seville or Cordova. And it must be said that heretofore the inhabitants of Camagüey have shown themselves as unprogressive in public improvements, and as strongly opposed to innovations as the old towns of Spain. They have inordinate pride, a true Spanish trait, the mark of ignorance and isolation. This quality is redeemed by their courtesy and hospitality.

We may be asked to believe that all the sturdy qualities of the Spanish peasantry have been lost in the transfusion of the tropics, like a flower that has gone to seed; but while allowance must be made for the modifications of temperament due to climate and environment, I think we will find that the native Cuban of to-day, when the depths of his nature are sounded, is not materially different from his Cas-

tilian forbear. It has been well said that the peasantry were the secret of Spain's greatness in the past, and perhaps may be the secret of her greatness in the future; a peasantry who were noted for their freedom, independence, endurance and native nobility. In Asturias every toiler was a prince; in Castile every man was an hidalgo. Says a recent writer in treating of the Spanish people: "Proud, self-respecting dignity; simple, sober habits; native good manners and kindness are the characteristics of all classes of the nation."

How far have these characteristics been changed by transplantation to tropical surroundings? The Spaniard in Cuba still prides himself that he is *un hombre serio*, a serious-minded man. As for the native Cubans, during the last four years I have had the opportunity to observe them under all conditions, though more frequently in adversity than in prosperity. The traits described are of an agricultural people, and the Cubans are essentially an agricultural people, and must continue so. Of their hospitality no one who has traveled over the Island can entertain a doubt. It is simple and genuine. No conventional hypocrisy gilds it. It has been said that hospitality wanes as civilization advances. If that be true, whoever has known country life in Cuba will rejoice secretly over the slow advance of a supposedly superior civilization.

Politeness and courtesy go with this hospitality. Then there is an obliging disposition and a goodnature which is one of the defects of character. The Cuban does not like to hurt your feelings by telling you unpleasant truths, so he is apt to agree with you. Though he knows you are wrong and will carry away wrong impressions, he will let you do so rather than contradict you.

Another example of goodnature is seen in the blunted moral sensibility which has come from long training under corrupt government. The Cuban or Spaniard does not fully subscribe to the saying "to rob the state is not to rob." When he knows of some one who is stealing he may remon-

strate privately with the thief. He even may give a hint of the peculation, yet he shrinks from open denunciation and from the inconvenience which may be caused to himself and to the thief by a public exposure. It is his goodnature that makes him recoil from the penalty of wrongdoing just as it causes him to sanction the wasting of public funds for the benefit of individuals. This goodnature is one of the obstacles to many reforms in government, or measures which appear to American eyes as reforms. To my own mind it always will be a question whether the jury system is a real palladium of liberty among a goodnatured people.

The temperance and sobriety of all classes of the Cuban population are partly due to climatic influences, yet there is a moderation in methods of living and in recreation which is a Spanish inheritance and is not due to climate. It requires an effort on the part of the strenuous American to be temperate in anything, but the Cubans are temperate without effort. Their peaceful disposition is universal. They are not quarrelsome among themselves or with strangers. A darker shade of their character may be found in the revengefulness with which supposed injuries are righted; hence sometimes the ambush, the knife in the dark, even the assassination, and the burning of the sugar planter's cane for revenge.

There is also the duplicity which is employed to foil policies and purposes. Duplicity is the weapon of the weak. Without it revolution against the superior power of Spain never could have succeeded. While it exists among native Cubans to an unpleasant extent it is offset by a high degree of trust in those who gain their goodwill. This is another trait of a people who can be led but not driven. Distrust and suspicion once aroused the sullen characteristics appear. These are one manifestation of passive or moral resistance. They are worthy the study of statesmen, for it was the passive resistance of the Cuban people, the natives of Spanish origin, which thwarted the government of Spain

in the dying years of the nineteenth century and ended the glorious pageant of colonial history which was ushered in with the discoveries of Columbus.

This positive resistance was illustrated in its highest form during the period of insurrection which was marked by the Weyler reconcentration. There is in the Spanish nature an indifference to physical suffering, of which the Inquisition, the cruelties of the *Conquistadores*, the extermination of the native Indians, are the black monuments of history. The passive manifestation was seen during the reconcentration, and was seen in heroic aspects, too. Stoic philosophy, inflexible determination were shown by a people conscious of their own doom of extinction, giving their moral support to a revolution which they were too weak to abet physically, and offering a passive opposition to the military measures of the Spanish government which was more potent than could have been an army in the field. When the *campesinos*, *guajiros*, or countrymen, endured all this, they were designated as *pacíficos*. The country inhabitants of Cuba to-day rightly might be called *pacíficos*, for with anything like good government they are the most peaceful people in the world.

Often I witnessed this same stoicism or physical endurance among the Spanish soldiers. The recollection of it causes me to smile when the effort is made to draw a fundamental distinction between the native Cubans and their Spanish ancestors. Seeing the peasant lads of Spain bearing the neglect and abuse of their officers with the patience of dumb brutes; watching them die by the thousands from the fevers; observing their distress scarcely less keen than that of the reconcentrados, I wondered at their failure to mutiny and speculated on the processes which through the centuries had produced this docility, yet the one point always stood out and this was their capacity to sustain suffering. Cuban reconcentrado and Castilian soldier lad alike showed it, but on the part of the soldier it was passive endurance alone,

while with the mass of the Cuban population it was passive resistance. Moreover, on their side always were some bold leaders among whom the spirit of revolt was active, and with the Negro infusion they kept up an insurrectionary movement which dragged the *pacíficos*, half doubtingly and half sympathetically, after them. Kindred to these qualities of endurance, which perhaps is only one form of fatalism, are others. They are apathy, lethargy, inertia, lack of the initiative faculty.

It may excite surprise to characterize as sentimental a people who in their endurance and their resistance have so many elements of stoicism, yet the Cubans of all classes are sentimental in the highest degree. By sentiment I do not mean merely Latin emotionalism, which is temperamental. With these people there is the deepest affection for their land. No one who has dwelt under its kindly skies, and who has experienced the impressiveness of the palm-tree landscape, can fail to sympathize with that feeling. The sentiment now is seeking for the realization of aspirations and ideals in the symbolism of a Cuban flag. That symbolism the United States is striving to guarantee under the lightest of restrictions and without thwarting the patriotic Cuban aspiration for independence which, however disappointing in its first results, is worthy of respect.

From what has been stated of the characteristics and traits of the natives of Cuba, an idea may be had of the lines along which their development should be sought. It should not be by doing violence to customs, traditions, laws and institutions which have been inherited from their Spanish ancestors, or to sentiments which have sprung from the soil and have become part of their own being. The development of the Cuban people that is to be a homogeneous people is even more a social and industrial problem than a question of political government. Here we are likely to be met with the usual off-hand assumption that the indolence of the tropics bars progress. I think a more correct definition

of this indolence of the tropics was that given by a Porto Rican author. He called it "the negative inclination to work." When we approach the sociological side we may have repeated to us Mr. Ingersoll's famous word picture of a colony of New England preachers and Yankee school-ma'ams established in the West Indies and the third generation riding bareback on Sunday to the cock fights.

On the industrial side it is the old idea of slave labor and later of coolie labor as the only mechanism which is capable of working under a burning sky. Leaving out the human element in this manner, naturally we must exclude the stimulus and incentive to greater enjoyment and greater comfort in living. I am one of those who, from somewhat limited observation, believe that the negative inclination to work can be turned into a positive disposition to labor. In Hawaii, in Cuba, Porto Rico and other West India Islands it always has seemed to me a question of the management of men rather than of abstract deductions regarding labor in the tropics. That the human energies shall be exerted with the same fierce zeal or the same sustained effort as in the north we do not expect, but sustained effort is not impossible.

Philosophical generalizations in dealing with this subject are so easy that I hesitate to descend from that high plane to the level of concrete instances which may controvert philosophy. Yet here are a few illustrations.

We hardly need be told that in Porto Rico most of the natives go barefoot. An American official who was charged with penitentiary administration was distressed by the idleness of the convicts. He set them to work at various useful occupations. One of these occupations which they learned most readily was making shoes. Few of these convict shoemakers ever had worn foot-leather. When some of those whose sentences were light were released their first move was to seek work in order to earn money with which to buy shoes. The American official did not pretend to be a political economist, but when he got to thinking it

over he reached the conclusion that the Porto Rican natives would work harder whenever they became possessed with the notion that there was more comfort in wearing shoes than in going barefoot. I think he was right. American contractors who were building bridges, constructing roads and doing other work of that kind, always complained of the laziness of the natives, yet some of them would admit that when they put the incentive of more comfort before the peons or laborers they got better results.

In Havana last winter an electric railway was being constructed and much of the work had to be done under high pressure. It was in charge of a shrewd young American engineer who at one time had 2,700 men under him. Everybody predicted his failure in completing the contract. Everybody was sure that the white and the black Cubans and the Spanish peasants could not be relied on. The engineer did not argue the proposition. He knew human nature and he knew how to select good subordinates. They in their turn knew how to handle men. They urged the laborers by example and they set forth the inducements for hard work. The electric railway was finished on time. The young American told me that the labor capacity of the Havana individual workingman was as high as the labor capacity of the individual workingman in Pittsburg. On that calculation he completed his contract.

Some of us who had known Cuba in the days when the torches of the insurgents and the torches of the Spanish troops were rendering it a charred wilderness, were surprised this season to note everywhere the evidences of recuperation. All the planters were ruined and few of them were able to get the money with which to replant their estates, yet the sugar crop this year is larger than it has been for six years past. The bankers in Havana and the railway managers all over the Island, knowing the poverty of resources, have been surprised at the extent of the cane planting. Many of them told me that they hardly knew

how it was done, but that the country people somehow managed to do it. They wanted their homes again and they wanted some of the comforts of life. That was the inducement. An indolent people, without incentive to shake off tropical lethargy, never would have done it. I could give a dozen similar cases in which these Cuban countrymen were aroused from their apathy, but the recital would take too long.

Can we forecast the future from these scattered instances? Probably the philosopher will say no, but I believe Cuban *guajiro* and the Porto Rican *gibaro* can be made to want more to eat; to desire a larger cabin with something besides a palm thatching; can develop an ambition to provide for his housewife more kitchen utensils than the single pot or kettle which is hung over the charcoal fire; can be induced to long for straw mattings and chairs for his humble dwelling; to emulate his neighbor in procuring an extra calico dress for his wife and daughters, and something besides a ragged pair of duck or linen trousers and a cheap cotton shirt for himself. In my mind's eye I also see the time when through some neighbor's example he will want to have his children going to the country school, and his pride will cause him to exert himself laboriously so that they may be clothed with more garments than has been the custom in the tropics. These are homely illustrations and may carry no profound truths, yet let this condition of emulation apply to a million people and let the inducements to higher living be set forth, is it certain then that the ease of supplying the bare needs of existence in a warm country will clog all the incentives and the stimulus to labor?

Of what might be called the political traits or the characteristics for self-government I shall have to treat briefly. Something of them may be learned from what has been said of the habits, customs, traditions and environment. For a century only the destructive tendencies of the Cubans could find expression; hence conspiracies, revolts, insurrections

and active or passive revolution. The great Nation which has most to do with the future development of Cuba and her people, of all perils will beware of arousing their passive resistance. A discerning observer from Spain at the beginning of the last insurrection, told his countrymen that passive resistance was the characteristic of the Island. Does the country produce it? he asked, and then continued. Perhaps it is the climate? Perhaps it is the child of tropical influences? He did not answer his own question of its origin satisfactorily, but he noted that this passive resistance was the hidden rock against which the strongest will and the most resolute purpose were shattered. Let the United States avoid the hidden rock.

While the Cuban character for a century was shown in its destructive tendencies, a final judgment cannot be formed of its constructive and administrative capacity by a trial of two or three years. On the part of any people centuries of the lack of training in political education and of practice in popular and representative government cannot be corrected in the experience of a twelve-months. It is easy to point out the defects and vices of the Spanish nature and their inheritance and modifications in the Cuban character. No great exertion of the intellect is required to sneer at racial weaknesses which are patent and which proclaim themselves. But human progress is not along these lines. It is advanced by appealing to the virtues, not by exploiting the vices of a people. In their present experiment, to realize their aspirations there should be stretched out to the Cubans not the strong hand, but the helping hand, of the United States.

Following the topic assigned to me, I have sought to confine myself closely to the natives of Spanish blood and their influence in the future of the two West India Islands with which the United States is most intimately concerned. I would not be understood as ignoring the effect of immigration from this country, for there will be an immigration and a commingling of the two peoples. Cuba will be benefited

by the presence and the example of many Americans who will settle in the Island. Yet for years, the bulk of the arrivals, following the course which is indicated, will be from Spain. This will reinforce the existing two-thirds of the population which is of Spanish stock. It means a reinforcement of the Castilian language, of Spanish traditions, religious faith, customs, manners, habits of thinking and methods of living. In other words it renews and refreshes the Spanish strain among the native Cubans. In all our dealings with the Cuban people this must be kept in mind.

"The luxuriant zone of the tropics," says Humboldt, "offers the strongest resistance to changes in the natural distribution of vegetable forms." The analogy holds in political and social institutions. Tenacious of everything that has been his, the Spaniard transplanted to the tropics acquires greater resistance. Pushed, he becomes stubborn and unyielding. Persuaded, he may be led if too great violence is not done to his convictions. To lead and guide, not to drive, is the American solution of the race problems in the West Indies.

Appendix

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FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
American Academy of Political and
Social Science.

Philadelphia, April 12 and 13, 1901.

"AMERICA'S RACE PROBLEMS."

The Fifth Annual Meeting proved to be the best attended and most successful the Academy has yet held. The timeliness of the topics discussed and the exceptionally even and high standard of excellence of the papers presented throughout the meeting called forth many words of praise from those present, and were reflected in the newspaper comments upon the various sessions.

The meeting was called to order by the President, in the Assembly Room of the Manufacturers' Club, on Friday afternoon, at 3 o'clock. Dr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia, was introduced as the presiding officer. He spoke briefly upon the topic of the session, namely, The Races of the Pacific, and upon the particular qualifications of the speakers announced on the program. He then introduced Dr. Titus Munson Coan, of New York City, who gave an address upon the Natives of Hawaii. Dr. Coan is the son of a missionary to Hawaii, and was himself born on the island and resided there for over nineteen years. He spoke most entertainingly of the personal impressions of a native-born, of the characteristics of the people and of their habits and customs. He dwelt at some length upon the Polynesian checks to population practiced in the Hawaiian Islands as in other sections of Polynesia.

Following Dr. Coan the Rev. Charles C. Pierce, D. D., United States Army Chaplain, now stationed at Fort Myer, Virginia, who has recently returned from over two years of service in the Philippines, spoke upon the Tagals, giving a very vivid picture of these people in their relation to the other tribes in the Philippine Islands. He emphasized especially the fact that the Tagal is an alien in the Philippines and that his influence and capabilities are much over-rated. One incident of this session which is deserving of mention, occurred in the discussion following these papers when Rev. Dr. Charles Colman, of Philadelphia, bore witness to the efficiency of Chaplain Pierce's services in the Philippines. Dr. Colman said that he had two sons in the war, of whom one died in Cuba while the other returned from the Philippine Islands a physical wreck. Speaking of the latter he said, "In those long and weary days which followed his home-coming, he often talked with me of the brave deeds of his companions in the tropical campaign and of his experiences in the hospital after he was stricken with disease. But, sir, there was one man about whom he frequently spoke—one whom he held in the highest regard and esteem. He has told me of his unfaltering courage and of his unshaken faith, of the comfort which he brought and of the cheering words he spoke to the sick and lonely, of his loving ministrations to the dying and of the patience and persistence with which he attended the affairs of the dead; no soldier passed on his way from those foreign shores to await the final reveille whose body was not taken in charge by this all-powerful man, and there is no case on record of an unidentified body in the province of his duties." Dr. Colman further declared that he did not know Dr. Pierce, but was very glad to have this opportunity of publicly expressing his appreciation of the man. The incident produced a marked impression upon the meeting and, along with other expressions of admiration for Dr. Pierce's work, lent peculiar interest to what he had to say.

A paper by Rev. Oliver C. Miller, A. M., Chaplain of the United States Army, upon the Semi-Civilized Tribes of the Philippines, was read by title, and is printed in the volume of Proceedings. Dr. Miller is now stationed at the Presidio, San Francisco.

The second session was called to order by the President of the Academy at the New Century Drawing Room, on Friday evening, at 8 o'clock. The President reviewed the work of the Academy during the year since the last annual meeting, calling attention to the large demand for a wide circulation of the Academy's publications during the year, and especially of the volume on "Corporations," containing the addresses at the last annual meeting. He also described the encouraging growth of the Academy in numbers and influence, and showed how, through the publications, work done by the Academy at its local meetings, was extended throughout the country. The need of a larger measure of co-operation among the members of the Academy, in securing the facilities for making its work permanent, and the peculiar responsibility resting upon an organization of this character, when public education on social and economic questions is so imperative, was emphasized. Professor Lindsay then introduced, as the orator of the evening, Professor Edward A. Ross, of Nebraska University, who delivered the annual address. The subject which Professor Ross treated ably in the course of an hour's address was "The Causes of Race Superiority." Following the annual address an informal reception was held, at which the members and their friends and invited guests were given an opportunity to meet the speakers of the annual meeting.

On Saturday morning, April 13, many of the out-of-town visitors assembled by invitation at 9.30 at the Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania, where they were received by the Curator, Dr. Stewart Culin, who personally conducted the party and described the valuable

collections of the Museum. In the Assyrian department Dr. Clay, who is associated with Professor Hilprecht, gave a very interesting explanation of the tablets recently excavated at Nippur and constituting the earliest record of civilization which has yet been found. Another party gathered at the Philadelphia Commercial Museum at 10.30, where Mr. Tingle, one of the officers of the Museum, was in waiting. After a brief address on the consular service of the United States, he conducted the party through the Museum and explained the large and valuable collections of industrial products from all over the world, which the Museum has collected.

On both days a large number of members and guests gathered for luncheon at the Manufacturers' Club, which extended to the Academy throughout the meeting the freedom of its club house, as did also the Art Club of Philadelphia and other social organizations.

The third session was called to order at 3 o'clock on Saturday afternoon, and Colonel Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama, ex-Secretary of the Navy, was introduced as the presiding officer, the topic of the session being "The Race Problem at the South." Colonel Herbert gave an eloquent address presenting a typical Southern white man's view of the relations of the whites to the negroes. He then introduced President George T. Winston, of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, who addressed the meeting on the same topic. During the course of his remarks President Winston pictured the conditions existing before the war, and claimed that the social relations between whites and negroes at that time were far superior to those at present, and that of late the races had been drifting apart rather than coming together.

The third and last address at this session was given by Professor W. E. Burghardt DuBois, of Atlanta University, who analyzed with peculiar calmness and ability the "Relation of the Negroes to the Whites." By many present

this address was regarded as the feature of the whole program. A paper by President Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee, upon the same topic, was read by title.

A peculiar interest centered in the closing session, at which Senator Orville H. Platt, of Connecticut, chairman of the Senate Committee on Relations with Cuba, and author of the Platt amendment which was then under discussion in the Cuban Constitutional Convention—reports of which seemed to indicate that it had been rejected—addressed the Academy on "Our Relations to the People of Cuba and Porto Rico." Also at this session Mr. Charles M. Pepper, author and journalist, who has recently been appointed as one of the delegates of the United States government to the Pan-American Congress which will assemble in the city of Mexico in October, gave an address on "The Spanish Population of Cuba and Porto Rico." Both of these addresses were listened to by a large and attentive audience. At the conclusion of the meeting, on Saturday evening, the Manufacturers' Club gave a reception to the speakers at the annual meeting and other invited guests, among whom were many of the members of the Academy.

The Committee desires to take this opportunity to express its thanks, as well as those of the officers and members of the Academy, to the Provost and authorities of the University of Pennsylvania, to the President and Directors of the Manufacturers' Club, to the Director and Board of Trustees of the Philadelphia Commercial Museums, to the Union League, University and Art Clubs, and to many individuals who cannot here be mentioned by name who co-operated with the Committee in extending hospitality to the speakers and visiting members of the Academy on the occasion of the Annual Meeting. The Manufacturers' Club, as on previous occasions, gave us the use of its Assembly Room and practically of its Club House during the two days of our sessions.

The expenses of the meeting were met in part by an

appropriation from the treasury of the Academy and in part by a special fund, to which leading citizens, interested in the educational purpose of the meeting and recognizing its importance, contributed.

As a matter of record the Committee desires in conclusion to note the other scientific sessions of the Academy held during the interval between the Fourth and Fifth Annual Meetings, as follows :

NOVEMBER 20, 1900, SIXTY-SEVENTH SCIENTIFIC SESSION.

Subject.—"The Causes of the Unpopularity of the Foreigner in China."

Addresses by—The Chinese Minister, His Excellency Wu Ting-fang, Washington, D. C.; Rev. William A. P. Martin, D. D., LL. D., President of the Imperial University of Peking, and the Honorable George F. Seward, Ex-Minister to China.

DECEMBER 18, 1900, SIXTY-EIGHTH SCIENTIFIC SESSION.

Subject.—"The Problem of the Tropics."

Addresses by—Professor John H. Finley, Princeton University; Honorable Frederico Degetau, Commissioner from Porto Rico to the United States, and General Roy Stone, member of General Miles' Staff in Porto Rico.

JANUARY 15, 1901, SIXTY-NINTH SCIENTIFIC SESSION.

Subject.—"Recent Tendencies in Free Political Institutions."

Addresses by—Honorable J. L. M. Curry, LL. D., Ex-Minister to Spain and General Secretary of the Peabody and Slater Educational Funds, on "Centralization in Government and the Causes of the Present Decay in Local Government and Some of Its Remedies;" Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, and Dr. James T. Young, University of Pennsylvania.

FEBRUARY 19, 1901, SEVENTIETH SCIENTIFIC SESSION.

Subject.—"The Isthmian Canal."

Addresses by—Professor Emory R. Johnson, University of Pennsylvania, on "The Political and Economic Aspects of the Isthmian Canal," and Colonel Peter C. Hains, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., on "The Military Value of the Canal."

Finally, the Committee on Meetings takes pleasure in expressing its gratitude to the speakers who have taken part in the various meetings of the year and who have given us generously of their time and service, without other compensation than the sense of satisfaction which comes from having performed a public duty and having had a part in the educational work which the Academy is doing.

The social features of our meetings have added much to their pleasure and profit and the Committee begs to thank the following ladies who have served upon one or other of the Reception Committees during the year: Mrs. Charles Custis Harrison (chairman), Mrs. DeForest Willard (vice-chairman), Mrs. Leverett Bradley, Mrs. John H. Converse, Mrs. Stephen W. Dana, Mrs. Theodore N. Ely, Mrs. Adam H. Fetterolf, Mrs. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Mrs. Edward M. Paxson, Mrs. Charles Roberts, Mrs. Henry Rogers Seager, Mrs. Talcott Williams, Mrs. Owen Wister, Mrs. Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY,

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ANNALS
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PRESENT POLITICAL TENDENCIES

I

BRYANISM

Energy cannot be destroyed. It may change its form, some of it may be dissipated, but none of it can be annihilated. While guarding one's self, in accord with Huxley's warning, against analogies drawn from the field of science for use in the very human field of politics, it seems that what is loosely known as Bryanism, considered in its broader aspect, is really a form of energy. Some of it has been dissipated. But the remainder has not gone through a transformation from one form of energy to another such as probably would have taken place had Mr. Bryan been elected President of the United States and incurred those heavy responsibilities of government which tend to bring a leader and his party under conservative influences.¹

The history of the Democratic party reveals the fundamental character of Bryanism. John Adams once said,² in describing the colonial origin of our political parties, that

¹ "It is a proverb that to turn a radical into a conservative there needs only to put him into office."—James Russell Lowell.

² See "The Significance of the Democratic Party in American Politics," by Professor A. D. Morse, of Amherst College, in *International Monthly*, October, 1900,

"in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Massachusetts and all the rest a court and country party has always contended." That "country" party was the democracy of the colonies, as opposed to the colonial aristocracy, and it generated the rebellious impulse that made the triumphant Revolutionary War. What Eldridge Gerry called "an excess of democracy," after the war, permitted a conservative reaction to set in. Reactions are often beneficial, and the undying glory of that particular reaction was the Federal Constitution of 1787.

Hamilton, the leader of the conservative party, profoundly distrusted popular institutions. And, as Professor Morse¹ has written, the clear tendency of his constructive statesmanship, in President Washington's cabinet, "was to foster the growth of a moneyed aristocracy and to make it the permanent ally of the government." Against tendencies of that character arose the movement of the Jeffersonians, which proved successful in 1800. That the uprising was primarily against what the Jeffersonians believed to be the menace of plutocratic aristocracy to democratic ideals cannot be doubted.

The tendency of radicalism to be mastered by conservative influences, when it has assumed the immense responsibilities of government, was illustrated by the "Jeffersonian period." Within twenty years after Jefferson's first inauguration the "Jacobin" party became the abiding place of a large part of the conservatism and wealth of the country; and in twenty-four years it elected as President a statesman who was no other than the son of John and Abigail Adams. There had been a transformation of energy from radicalism to conservatism, but the radical force was still existent. And it proved itself again supreme when the Jacksonians overthrew the later Jeffersonians in 1828.

Much that Andrew Jackson did is condemned by historians, yet he was the accepted political champion of the more

¹ See "The Significance of the Democratic Party in American Politics," by Professor A. D. Morse, of Amherst College, in *International Monthly*, October, 1900.

democratic portion of the people and he incarnated a radical force that viewed with deep distrust the moneyed and aristocratic influences of the time. Essentially, the uprising of the Jacksonians against the later Jeffersonians was the same in character as that of the early Jeffersonians against the Hamiltonians.¹ But, like the Jeffersonian movement, that of the Jacksonians was soon mastered by conservative influences. In less than a generation it had been degraded into a political machine for the protection of the Southern slaveholders and their financial allies in the mercantile and manufacturing North, while during the acute slavery conflict and the Civil War period its normal and primary characteristics were lost to view. Abraham Lincoln became the "defender of the faith," the great democrat of the age.

In the twenty-five years after Appomattox the party called Democratic tended slowly to reassume the character which the slavery struggle had so distorted. The wage-earning classes in the North, especially in the large cities and towns, had clung to it with surprising tenacity. Both Mr. Tilden and Mr. Cleveland were conservative leaders and their popular successes in 1876 and 1884 were due to the errors, corruption, and popular weariness of prolonged Republican rule. Mr. Cleveland's second election in 1892, however, showed that the Democratic party was again growing radical in the same sense that the democracy in 1800 and 1828 had been radical. Not only had the great strikes of that year embittered labor organizations, but in 1890 there had appeared one of the most extraordinary movements recorded in American politics, the uprising among the farmers of the Western and Southwestern States.

Populism was based on discontent. Even in a party sense it was democratic if you accept Professor Morse's definition that "the Democratic party is the political champion of

¹ It is almost amusing now to read that the Whigs always maintained that the party of Jackson was not the party of Jefferson. "It was in their eyes a new and dangerous party which had filched the name of the party of Jefferson."—See "Political Parties in the United States," by Jesse Macy, page 34.

those elements of the democracy which are most democratic." Jackson himself, to quote Professor Morse again, "stood forth as the champion of the poor, and made war in their behalf against the rich." And this Populist movement should be called democratic, using the word in its broad, philosophic sense, simply because it emanated from the more common of the common people and was an expression of discontent with prevailing conditions.

That the Populist movement made its coming felt originally in the Republican party of Kansas and Nebraska, eleven years ago, was due to the Civil War. The great conflict over secession had left a strong sectional impress upon parties in the West so that as late as 1888 Kansas and Nebraska, which contained great numbers of Union veterans, were Republican by enormous majorities. Yet in that preponderantly Republican population there was a large class who, under certain conditions, would passionately support a crusade against wealth. With their old war prejudices against the Democratic party their revolt speedily took the form of a new, independent political organization. In the South the essentially democratic nature of the Populist movement was demonstrated by the speed and ease with which the old party organization of the ruling class was captured by the "poor whites," led by such leaders as Tillman, or with which the older leaders like Morgan and Daniel acquiesced in much of its political program.

Silverism, it is true, became the leading point in the Populistic program, although Populism had very much in common with the contemporaneous uprising of the Australasian democracy. But that was because the issue had "availability" in politics, owing to the conditions peculiar to this country. Silver had been demonetized less than twenty years before the elections of 1890, and its "restoration" had been openly encouraged in Congress and out by prominent leaders of both the Republican and Democratic parties. Add to that the facts that the United States was a silver-

producing country, that it was a "debtor nation," and that such economists as the late General F. A. Walker were apostles of bimetallism, and you have an explanation of the final concentration of the radical movement in the United States upon "16 to 1," whereas, in Australasia the radical movement, although agrarian, largely took an entirely different course. Silverism gained a "paramountcy" as an issue, yet it was only a passing manifestation of a force groping for weapons with which to wage its conflict with conditions that inspired discontent.

The Australasian radical movement, which was the result of the same world-wide economic depression which produced American Populism, ought to be considered in this connection. Both movements were democratic in the broad sense of the word, the main difference between them being that the one succeeded in dominating the political situation in its field, while the other did not. The reason for the success in Australasia and the failure in the United States is made clear by a New Zealand statesman, Mr. W. P. Reeves,¹ who has written in a recent article:

"He (the Australasian farmer) must have cheaper money if he is to live. If this be so when prices are at an average level, it is easy to understand that in years like 1893, 1894 and 1895, when depression was extreme, the bitter cry of the indebted farmer was heard very loudly indeed. Now the farmer and sheep-owner are not only relatively a more important economic element in the colonies than here (England) but they are more powerful in politics. The British globe-trotter is told in Australasian clubs that the working men rule the colonies. The artisan and the shearer no doubt have their say in public affairs. But, one year and another, they are less powerful than the tillers and graziers. When, therefore, the latter were pressed to the wall in the bad times of 1893-95 it was natural that their governments should cast about for means to help them. In Australasia governments are, rightly or wrongly, expected to be of use in public emergency, and under the head of public emergency dull times are included."

¹"Colonial Governments as Money Lenders."—*National Review*, December, 1900.

The result was that in Australasia the governments became direct money-lenders to the farmers at cheap rates of interest and did various other interesting things of a radically socialistic nature, and are still doing them, all of which, in substance, our American Populists had desired their government to do for them.¹ Populism won in Australasia because Australasia is a new, undeveloped country, where capital and vested financial interests are still comparatively weak in politics. Populism lost in the United States because capital and vested financial interests are grown relatively very powerful here. The essentially democratic quality of the movement in each country, however, remains the same whether in victory or defeat.

In 1890 and 1892 American Populism displayed great political strength. Mr. Cleveland, although a conservative man of the most orthodox New York associations, profited by the Populist disaffection in his third campaign for the presidency. His political manager, Mr. W. C. Whitney, who was able to carry New York only by a plurality of 45,000, and without a majority over all, made astute use of the Western Populists by arranging fusions with them wherever there seemed to be a prospect of diverting electoral votes from General Harrison to General Weaver. How powerful that radical movement was in 1892, following the political upheaval of 1890, we can now appreciate by merely recalling the fact that the Populist candidate for President polled over a million popular votes and outdid all third party precedents by the strength he displayed in the electoral college.

Even independent votes were cast in the East for Mr. Cleveland on the ground that "predatory wealth" was becoming intrenched in the national government.² Mr.

¹ See also H. D. Lloyd's "Newest England," besides Mr. Reeves' *National Review* article. The platforms of the farmers' alliance in the early '90's may be referred to as well.

² "It is not surprising that labor, believing itself to be oppressed, soon rose in revolt, and civil war has actually raged this summer in four different sections of

Cleveland, too, permitted himself to show sympathy with that feeling by his denunciations of the "sordid" phases of a high tariff and by his public references to the Homestead strikes. The conservative Democratic stump that year was a hot place for "robber barons."

It may truthfully be said that the wave of discontent, which started with such tremendous momentum in the elections of 1890, swept Mr. Cleveland into his second term as President. Both from circumstances and personal temperament, Mr. Cleveland was unable to satisfy the radicalism that had placed him in power. He might have succeeded had his administration not been so terribly weighted with the world-wide industrial depression of 1893-97. As it was, even tariff reform, on which Mr. Cleveland had set his heart, was betrayed by the capitalistic group of the Democratic senators, and his administration finally stood at bay. It was violently condemned, on the one hand, by the Republican opposition as responsible for hard times, and on the other, it faced the furious radical force that had created it without a single achievement that could cause a glow in radicalism's soul. Even the income tax, which was a genuine concession to radical feeling, was overthrown by the Supreme Court. The mighty defence of the gold standard alienated the silverites, while the great railroad strikes of 1894 completed the political misfortunes of the Cleveland régime by making the Democratic administration the sponsor for certain drastic military and judicial measures which, however necessary they might have been, could not fail to be regarded with suspicion by a democracy already filled with jealousy of what it believed to be plutocracy's growing power in the state.

the country. And, of course, the farmers, paying more for what they buy and getting less for what they sell, grow poorer day by day; and excellent farms in some of the most fertile sections of this most highly protected state will hardly bring the cost of the buildings upon them."—Wayne MacVeagh's letter, in October, 1892, to J. W. Carter, Secretary of the Massachusetts Reform Club, announcing his intention to vote for Mr. Cleveland.

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The complete overthrow of the conservative wing of the Democratic party at the Chicago convention of 1896, and the ensuing alliance between the radical wing and the Populists was now a matter of course. For the forces of discontent had been disappointed in the Democratic administration.

Now the history of the Democratic party not only shows that Democratic leadership, when in office, becomes conservative, but that when the leadership has grown markedly conservative the restless element of the party periodically asserts its supremacy over it and attempts to gain control of the government in behalf of the more democratic portion of the American people. The uprising of the early Jeffersonians against the Hamiltonians, which originated party government under the Constitution, the overthrow of the later Jeffersonians by the Jacksonians and, in our own time, the tremendous political phenomenon known as Bryanism seem to justify the statement of a principle that is peculiar to democracy. It is simply this, that democracy tends to burst conservative bonds, especially when plutocracy appears to threaten a suspicious democracy's instinctive ideals. It was Hamilton's aristocracy of wealth that the early Jeffersonians rose against; it was the power of wealth that the Jacksonians assaulted so furiously; and certainly enough is now known of the antecedents and characteristics of Bryanism to make it clear that the heart and soul of its grievance is the alleged menace of plutocracy. The three movements led respectively by Jefferson, Jackson and Bryan were spiritually the same. Whatever their excesses and crudities, all were anti-aristocratic and anti-plutocratic, and therefore, they were all essentially democratic.

The substantial identity of the Democratic uprising under Bryan with those under Jefferson and Jackson being recognized, a most important fact must now be faced. While the earlier movements attained success at the polls and became invested with all the responsibilities of government, this one has been repulsed at two presidential elections in succession.

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Without the joy of victory, without the satisfaction of achievement, without the responsibilities of power, such as the Jeffersonians and the Jacksonians had, to soften its crudities and modify its radicalism, this force remains at large and the problem of its disposition or destination is one of the most interesting of our political future.

Bryanism is more than "16 to 1"; it is a state of mind. Even prosperity can do no more than quiet it for a time, while it can no more be annihilated by presidential defeats than can electricity or candle power.

The peculiar significance of Mr. Bryan's second defeat, then, appears as soon as we attempt to answer the question, what is to become of Bryanism?

A steadily-baffled radicalism may dissipate some of its energy, but the residuum of force must tend to grow more radical. That is where psychology steps in. If a dog finds his bone pulled constantly from under his nose he finally may become furious enough to plunge through a picket fence. It is noteworthy that some of the leading Populists of the early '90's have already become outspoken socialists.

Notwithstanding that he has been charged with being a socialist, Mr. Bryan, however, had not shown up to the last presidential election any tendency in his thinking toward socialistic ideas. The leader of the discontent movement, so far as it has had real force in the field of practical politics, Mr. Bryan, curiously enough, has been thoroughly old-fashioned in his theories. His own statement not long ago, that he did not hold a single political principle that was not one hundred years old, can be demonstrated by an analysis of his opinions on public questions. It is extraordinary that he should have been hotly denounced as socialistic by men who were in reality more socialistic in their conception of competition and trusts, for example, than he ever has been. Even Mr. Bryan's bimetallic theories, which are at the basis of his silverism, are old-fashioned and out of date rather than socialistic. And in the matter of "government

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by injunction," or the power of equity courts to punish for contempt, his position is the one that was generally held by English and American jurists only thirty years ago. As a president, Mr. Bryan, burdened with the responsibility of power, would probably have remained far more conservative, however, than he will now in the rôle of free lance.¹

But Mr. Bryan personally can be left entirely out of consideration. He may or may not have a political future. He may or may not maintain a position of leadership in the Democratic party. Eliminate him entirely. The important point is that what is loosely known as Bryanism, and which is really a radical impulse based on human discontent, continues in a state of intellectual fluidity, which is the prime requisite of the acceleration characteristic of radicalism.

II

INFLUENCE OF IMPERIALISM

In order to sense the future from the standpoint of the present, it is necessary to extend one's view over the world-wide field of contemporary politics so that political influences of a world-wide character may be detected and examined.

Broadly speaking, the general elections of 1900 in both the great English-speaking countries were a triumph for what has come to be generally known as imperialism.² And the result seems to have been logical since it expressed the predominant spirit of the time. The imperialistic movement is world-wide and thus far has been irresistible, owing to the combination in its favor, whether in Germany, France, England, or the United States, of such mighty influences as

¹ This is already shown to be true by Mr. Bryan's public endorsement of an independent "municipal ownership" candidacy for the office of mayor of St. Louis in the spring of the present year, 1901.

² The writer will use this word, "imperialism," because it is used by all parties in Great Britain without protest; it is necessary also to have some one word to describe the expansion movement in the various countries of Europe and America to which reference will be made. No other word meets the requirements so well as this one.

the popular sentiment for the flag, modern finance and the missionary impulse of the Christian religion. Finance has demanded new markets, and the church, new or broader fields of evangelization. As for the flag, "who will haul it down?"

So far as the United States is concerned, the radical Democratic movement led by Mr. Bryan beat in vain against this imperialistic combination. The flag sentiment was against it; the evangelical church was against it on foreign missionary grounds, and "business" was against it because "business" was entirely content with the present situation and fearful of any change. Business interests in our time have grown proportionately stronger in politics than they were when they unsuccessfully fought Jefferson the century before. Von Holst¹ says that the Jeffersonians "were far inferior to the Federalists in the numbers and ability of their leaders; and moreover, the great moneyed interests of the Northern States were the cornerstone of the federal party."

In order, now, to project the future of the radical movement in America we must first consider the effect of imperialism, assuming it to continue unchecked, upon the party of the opposition.

There are signs that the party of the opposition along the old lines must suffer permanent disintegration. Two forces are attacking it, one economic, the other political. It is being disintegrated, from an economic standpoint, because the imperialist trade argument for territorial expansion, even with an accompanying militarism, is not being easily and readily controverted by those who adhere to the orthodox views of capitalism and competition. Business is always a practical, immediate question. The pressing problems in the world of industry and finance are the next dividend and the current rate of interest. In reality, "finance" never takes what is called a far look ahead for the simple reason that it must preserve itself in the imme-

¹ "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. 1, page 179.

diate future. If, therefore, owing to high industrial development at home, the interest rate has fallen to a low point in western commercial countries, and the field for the investment of the rapidly accumulating surplus of capital has become at the same time much narrowed, it follows that capital will seek at once fresh opportunities for investment, anywhere and everywhere, in order to keep itself employed and prevent the rate of interest from falling. In doing this capital will not look a century ahead ; it will consider its own immediate prospects.

Now it is perfectly clear, as some imperialist writers assert, that under the old order of things capital has reached a point in Europe and America when the home field for profitable investment is narrowing. The savings bank interest rate has fallen so low that in the eastern part of the United States no family man earning a small salary can hope to put by enough in the average working life to live on the income of his savings, when the time comes for him to retire because of advanced years or impaired vitality. These facts are universally admitted. And when the commercial imperialist, living in a world where high tariffs are still a weapon of trade rivalry between nations, presents his argument for territorial expansion, wherever extended sovereignty or government control may bring new markets—or preserve old ones—and bring new fields for investment within the grasp of capital, he bases it on those facts. How does the anti-imperialist, whose economics are of the same orthodox competitive school, meet the argument? Usually, he does not meet it at all, from the viewpoint of economics ; usually, he plants himself on certain moral principles hostile to war, conquest, militarism and on abstract political doctrines regarding freedom, self-government, the rights of man, and the right of nationality. But, when he does meet it, from the viewpoint of the old-fashioned political economy, does he meet it effectively? His answer fails, apparently, to sway the modern capitalist and manufacturer

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because it projects the argument into the remote future, while "business" is thinking of the immediate future.

For example, the anti-imperialist, in answering the commercial imperialist, points out that the extension of our rule by force will entail such heavy expenses of war and administration upon the people at home that ultimately all the commercial profit from such adventure will be balanced by losses, and, in reality, the country as a whole will not be the gainer. Again, the anti-imperialist answers that while the commercial exploitation of such regions as China will probably open up new fields of investment for western capital, and thus tend to keep up the rate of interest, the time will come when those fields also will be exhausted, and then whither will capital turn? Again, he answers that in opening up these new fields of exploitation in the Orient the capitalist will so develop those countries that they will in time become manufacturing and capitalist countries themselves and, with their cheap labor, will surely begin a frightful industrial competition with our own people. The anti-imperialist answer, in short, while possessed of real strength, deals almost entirely in futures more or less remote. To every one of these points "business" is disposed to say, "sufficient unto the day is the squeezed lemon thereof," while it follows the law of its being by looking out for the main chance now. It cannot stop to theorize or prognosticate about ultimates when its chief concern is to provide for the next quarterly dividend. Nor will it be much disturbed over war taxes which the whole people, rather than any one set of interests, must bear.

At any rate, it is a startling fact that the old political opposition, whether in Germany,¹ Britain or the United States, is now split, or practically destroyed, along the line of the economic argument for imperialism. The anti-imperialist answer has no potency in Britain as a party life-preserver.

¹ The old liberal party of Germany has practically disappeared, and the only strong political force there opposed to imperialism is socialism.

Nearly the whole body of liberals who followed Mr. Chamberlain into the coalition with the tories in 1886 have become strong imperialists; indeed, none surpasses Mr. Chamberlain himself in the intensity of his imperialistic sentiment, although in his younger days he was a radical of the radicals in politics. Among the liberals of to-day the strong section which looks to Lord Rosebery for leadership is avowedly imperialistic. The political strength of anti-imperialism in Britain is now represented by an earnest wing of the old Gladstonians and the members of the Irish and social labor parties, in all having a comparatively weak influence at the present time upon British politics. The disintegration of the liberal party on this issue is complete, and probably one of the chief reasons for it—as clearly appears from the fact that London and all the great English industrial centres have become hotbeds of “Chamberlainism”—is the catchiness of the commercial argument for expansion and imperialism.

As for the United States, nothing has been more interesting than to observe that the gold Democrats, who are the capitalistic wing of the old Democratic party, have quickly developed strong imperialistic tendencies. It were an easy matter to mention influential newspapers of the gold Democratic and anti-Bryan character, such as the *New York Times* and *Brooklyn Eagle*, as well as prominent men, formerly supporters of Mr. Cleveland's two administrations, who are avowed advocates of the imperialistic policy on commercial grounds. It were also easy to show that in the South, where Mr. Bryan received all but thirteen of his electoral votes in the last presidential election, the commercial argument for imperialism has met with much favorable response. In view of the South's attitude toward the black race the response promises to be more favorable in the future.

One hazards nothing in saying that the former Democratic party of the United States, that is, the party which carried

Mr. Cleveland to victory in 1892, must remain hopelessly rent on the issue of imperialism.

Everywhere, also, the old opposition party is subject to the disintegrating, or paralyzing, effect of political forces that are peculiarly active during an imperialistic era. Approach this phase of the question *à priori* or inductively, as you please, and the conclusion is the same. Imperialism means the predominance of questions of foreign affairs in the politics of a nation, and the predominance of foreign affairs, for any length of time, means a weakening of party government through the weakening of the parliamentary opposition and the corresponding strengthening of the executive. For issues pertaining to foreign relations are always difficult for an opposition to handle owing to the feeling that party spirit should not pass beyond the three-mile limit. Criticism is more bitterly resented by those in power in matters of exterior policy than in affairs of domestic concern. The almost menacing cry, "Stand by the government"—right or wrong—is invariably heard when the government clashes with a foreign people or ruler. If such a crisis reaches actual war, however wicked the war may be, criticism of the party in power always shrinks in volume and the opposition as a whole becomes paralyzed. The slightest questioning of the government's policy is then construed as "unpatriotic" or "treason." In England Mr. Chamberlain, during the Boer war, has maintained exactly that attitude toward the critics of the government's policies.

That the national spirit should rise above party spirit in the stress of war time should be cordially conceded, yet no amount of patriotism can blind the clear thinker to the fact that the natural and most vital function of a parliamentary opposition grows atrophied while such a period lasts. Continue indefinitely, or for many years, a period in which international competition in its various phases enthalls the attention of a people, and it follows that party government

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must suffer. It is probable that, owing to the problems connected with the opening of China, for example, the western nations, including the United States, have already entered upon such a period of prolonged attention to foreign affairs. *A priori*, party government in such a period must decline; are there any signs that it has actually begun to decline?

"It does not admit of doubt," writes Professor Paul S. Reinsch,¹ "that modern imperialism tends to withdraw public interest from the fields within which party government can best exert its influence." Running over the great imperialistic powers of Europe, what do we find? In Russia the advantages of an absolutism for competing with rival powers in the new race for empire have been so clearly realized that the movement for more liberal political institutions has almost disappeared, outside the nihilistic groups, as an appreciable force. "Now that all the national energies (of Russia) are concentrated upon the expansion of the imperial domain," writes Professor Reinsch, "the growth of a party system on western models is less likely than ever—in fact, it is an impossibility." And Alfred Rambaud,² the French historian of Russia, has but lately written:

"Russia is the only European power which has an absolute government. Its autocratic feature, so fiercely assailed upon the accession of Nicholas I. by the 'Constitutionals' or 'Republicans' of 1825, and under Alexander II. by the Nihilist conspiracies, seems to have taken on a new life in the estimation of the Russian people, because, according to the expression of Prince Oukhtomski, it is the necessary condition of the greatness of their nation and of her 'supernatural' and providential mission in Asia."

M. Rambaud notes that this despotism is at least "thoughtful of the economic interests and the well-being of the Russian people, blending its ambitions with the legitimate aspirations of the nation." With the popular imagination

¹ "World Politics," page 328.

² "Expansion of Russia," page 85.

heated by the fascinating dream of world empire for the Slav race, the practical paralysis of the liberal movement in Russia has come as a matter of course.¹

As for Germany, it did not require the Kaiser's act in sending an army under Count Von Waldersee to China without consulting the Reichstag to show that recent years have marked a decline in Parliamentary government.² Bismarck had succeeded before his retirement in breaking up the old German party system by his attacks on the Roman Catholics, his persecution of the socialists, his abandonment of the national liberals and his later affiliations with the agrarians and high protectionists. The Kaiser's speeches, since he assumed his aggressive rôle in building up a colonial empire, have been a kind of bugle call to the German people to range themselves "in serried ranks" behind him, repudiating the party system, in order that German interests abroad might not suffer from dissensions at home.

The degeneracy of party government in France, owing to external ambitions, is well summed up by Professor Reinsch.³

Is there also a decline of party government to be observed in the countries where it has flourished most, since the rise of democracy? The wreck of the great Liberal party of Gladstone would seem to afford an affirmative answer, so far as Britain is concerned, and that the wreck is due in no small degree to the imperialistic lurch of the past twenty

¹ The disturbances, chiefly in the universities, reported from Russia this spring (1901), may seem to contradict this view. The writer, however, cannot discern that those disturbances, in the main, were other than students' outbreaks due to the harsh administration by the late minister of education, M. Bogalievoff. (See dispatch from St. Petersburg in *New York Times* on April 21, 1901. See also the letter of Colonel W. R. Holloway, U. S. Consul General at St. Petersburg, to the editor of the *Indianapolis Journal*, reprinted in the *New York Times*, April 25, 1901.) The excommunication of Count Tolstoi may also have been a contributing cause of the disturbances.

² See "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe," by A. Lawrence Lowell, vol. II, page 54; "World Politics," by Professor Reinsch, page 329; also a letter by Professor Theodore Mommsen—"Militarism and Bismarckism have thoroughly driven out of them (Germans) all desire for self-government"—as quoted in a Berlin letter, dated October 15, 1900, printed in the *New York Evening Post*.

³ "World Politics," page 330.

years is clear. The Liberal party became great and masterful in British politics only when the Napoleonic struggle had been so far forgotten as to permit the people to turn their attention to domestic affairs, and it has declined again as soon as the empire found itself confronted with a desperate international rivalry in the outside world. Party government in Britain reached its culmination in the middle and later periods of the nineteenth century when politics was almost exclusively devoted to questions of domestic reform. Parliamentary institutions certainly entered upon a golden age after the English reform bill of 1832 and never was the House of Commons more powerful or more splendid than in the days of Cobden, Bright and Gladstone.

When King Edward VII. opened his first Parliament there were no seats and scarcely any standing room for the members of the House of Commons in the chamber where the royal spectacle was unfolded. This was cause for complaint. While petty as an issue, it seemed to some observers¹ to signify "a foretaste of a more serious depreciation." The revived importance of the crown was, indeed, a favorite topic of discussion in London papers after Victoria's death, and it is worth observing that the notion sprang from the fact that the crown is the visible link between the dependencies and the United Kingdom. In an imperialistic age, therefore, even the crown, to say nothing of the cabinet, gains in prestige.²

In examining the forces making for the disintegration of the opposition we may not omit certain other considerations of importance. Students of the effect of modern imperialism upon democratic institutions agree that an actual necessity will be manifested for the concentration of great powers

¹ Letter by Professor Goldwin Smith to *Manchester Guardian*, March 6, 1901.

² Agreement on this point seems general in England. The *Spectator* not long ago said: "The power of government is nearly everywhere visibly passing to the cabinet." Professor James Bryce in the *Manchester Guardian*, April 5, 1901, declared: "Since 1880 the cabinet has grown in power at the expense of the legislature."

in the executive. The tendency in that direction is noted by two observers who are not in sympathy with each other on political issues. Professor Goldwin Smith¹ has written: "The tendency of imperialism to an increase of the power of the executive at the expense of the representative is already seen in England, where the House of Commons has of late been manifestly losing power while the ministry has manifestly been gaining it." The *Spectator* notes the same tendency and it intimates that such a tendency is toward absolutism.² The *Spectator* might well have noted not only the actual tendency, but the necessity for such a development in an imperialistic era chiefly characterized by intense competition between nations for political and commercial prestige. Imperialist testimony is not lacking, however, as to this requirement of the imperialistic system.³

Nor can anyone deny the real advantages in international competition which an absolutist government possesses. "No Parliament, therefore, no questionings, no blue or yellow books," writes M. Rambaud on this point in his "Expansion of Russia." "A restricted liberty of the press closes with respect the indiscreet lips of reporters and interviewers. Hence secrecy in both planning and executing is possible. There is no need of throwing dust in the eyes of Parliaments, of the newspapers and of the people; nor is there any need of brag, optimistic proclamations and of oratorical heroics. Great conquests can be accomplished silently." England was never more feared or more potent in foreign affairs than when she was ruled by the despot Cromwell. We must agree that concentration of power is an essential condition of the most successful international rivalry; and it follows that during an imperialistic era there will be a growing pressure, even in a democracy, to bring about all the concen-

¹ "Commonwealth of Empire."

² "Resolute opposition and the widest criticism of executive policy is not only legitimate but necessary; but the pulverizing of the parliamentary institution itself can make only for despotism."

³ "The United States as a World Power," by Charles A. Conant, the *Forum*, 1900.

tration of power in the executive necessary to successful competition.

Judge Simeon E. Baldwin,¹ of the Connecticut Supreme Court, points out that the powers of the president of the United States "have been steadily growing ever since that great office was created," and it is his opinion that they will continue to grow, as new occasions for their exercise arise. Already, he says, the President's great powers "make us fitter than most republics to play the part of a great power in large questions of diplomacy."² But there certainly can be no further concentration of powers in the executive of this republic without weakening parliamentary prestige and party opposition.

And, as a final consideration in this branch of the inquiry, we must remember that the old opposition must remain out of power substantially all the time while imperialism represents the nation's chief aspiration. It is no new thing in parliamentary government for one party to hold power for thirty, forty, even sixty years with only slight interruptions. The Democratic party of the United States held firmly the reins of government from 1800 down to 1860 with only such unimportant breaks as were occasioned by the Whig victories of 1840 and 1848, neither of which enhanced the strength of the Whigs nor weakened their opponents. From 1860 to the present day the Republicans have held power without more serious interruptions than the two terms of President Cleveland. The whole nineteenth century in American politics is thus seen to be divided into two grand divisions of time during which respectively one party or the other was practically supreme.

Under parliamentarianism, English politics have shown

¹ Article in *Yale Review*, 1901.

² An extension of the executive powers already under way is embodied in the so-called "Platt Amendment," providing for the organization of the government of Cuba. As the medium for intercourse with foreign governments, and as the enforcer of treaties the President will gain more power than will Congress from the arrangement.

the same phenomena. There was a long period of Whig ascendancy after the revolution of 1688, extending down to the accession of George III. and after, and then followed the Tory supremacy, beginning with the younger Pitt's ministry in 1783, and lasting until the political revolution of which the reform bill of 1832 was the culminating legislative expression. Then arose the modern Liberal party of England whose period of domination in British politics was but little broken for sixty years.

Viewed in the perspective of the two centuries of parliamentary government since the flight of King James II. it is evident that government by any one party broadly tends to run in cycles of many years' duration. Intelligent people scarcely need to be told that this tendency has a reason for being. In the evolution of nations the people in certain periods have different activities, different opportunities, different aspirations from those in other periods. After the flight of James II. with the ghost of monarchical absolutism, the party which was the special advocate and defender of parliamentary rule inevitably and logically had possession of the government most of the time until the reaction arose against the corrupt Whig aristocracy. During the first half of the eighteenth century the Whig nobles, whose political philosopher was Locke, represented the aversion to monarchical despotism and "popery," then the leading political instinct or idea of the English people. The later Tory domination represented not only the reaction against Whig rule and Whig corruption, but the popular spirit of antagonism to the exterior Napoleonic system, which England conceived to be hostile to English growth, and English freedom. The great Liberal supremacy during the larger portion of the nineteenth century was the expression of the Democratic impulse toward ecclesiastical, criminal law and fiscal reform, modern industrial development and the political emancipation of the masses.

In the United States, the respective periods of supremacy

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enjoyed by the opposing parties for so many years, have manifestly been but expressions of the prevailing spirit of the American people—democracy showing more the particularist, centrifugal and anti-aristocratic tendencies not unnatural in the earlier part of the republic's life, and the Republicans of the later era responding to the passion for strong nationality, and to the demands of the prodigiously expanding industrial power of a young and favored people.

That the occasional interruptions in these long periods of party supremacy, caused by the passing of power for a brief stage to the opposition, have been of slight significance appears in the fact that at such times the opposition's lease of power has often been attended by highly important acts in harmony with the general policy of its great antagonist. Sir Robert Peel, who found himself at the fag end of the Tory period, was put into office as an anti-Catholic, but he carried Catholic emancipation. He was the leader of the English protectionists, but he carried free trade. So, too, Disraeli, another leader of the Tories, once "dished the Whigs" by carrying a liberal measure extending the franchise. John Tyler's nominal Whig presidency was notable for its designs upon Texas, which were as far as possible from Whig principles. Mr. Fillmore's administration protected slavery. And the supreme achievement of the presidency of Mr. Cleveland was the successful defence and maintenance of a monetary system which was at heart antagonized by the majority of his own party in Congress and supported by a majority of the party to which Mr. Cleveland was opposed.

What are the ultimate effects of these long periods of supremacy for one party upon the party of the opposition? Our historical perspective through two centuries of English and American politics cannot leave us in doubt. The effects are disuse, division, decay. The old party, reduced for a prolonged period to opposition, has had to be regenerated, often with a new name, before beginning a fresh era of

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domination. Glance backward and observe certain facts. The English Tories who succeeded the English Whigs in power late in the eighteenth century were by no means the same party, in working program, as the Tories who had supported the Stuarts in their claims to rule by divine right. The Liberals who, early in the nineteenth century, snatched away the supremacy of the Tories, were different from the old Whigs from whom they had descended. And the conservatives, or unionists, in our own day who have finally brought, as it appears, the long period of Liberal ascendancy to an end, are not the same, in domestic politics at least, as those stout old Tories, their forbears, who believed that the reform bill and free trade and Catholic emancipation would throw Britain into unspeakable ruin. Coming to the United States again, we find that during the long period of Democratic ascendancy from 1800 down to 1860 the party of the opposition disintegrated and changed its name no less than twice—Federalist became Whig, and Whig became Republican before the party of Lincoln, Grant and McKinley began its prolonged lease of power.

So the disuse of a party leads to its decay; while parliamentary history in England and America seems to teach that the assumption of power for a lengthy period, during which a party must be the organic expression of a dominant national feeling or aspiration, presupposes a distinct change in the character of the party as compared with what it was in former periods of ascendancy.

If these principles be applied to the political situation in America to-day—granting that imperialism is to be the dominant idea in the immediate future—then it is highly probable, if not inevitable, that the party which has been pretty steadily in opposition since the Civil War will suffer still further disintegration from its prolonged inactivity in responsible government, and will finally undergo an important transformation in character before again becoming the organized political expression of the national life.

The cumulative effects of the new American imperialism upon the opposition party are now seen to be broadly destructive from various viewpoints, economic, political and historical. In politics, however, as in nature, decay may be coincident with growth. The decay of vegetation means the deposit of beds of coal. Energy may change its form, but it cannot be destroyed. While an old political party in democracies is undergoing dissolution, you may be sure that at the same time a new one is springing into life. Now, two things are manifest: first, however prolonged may be the supremacy of the imperialistic spirit, it must sometime burn itself out and be succeeded by some other; second, the field will then be open to the party—fresh in vitality although it may be old in name—which will have grown into being and slowly have swelled with vigor during the imperialistic régime, and which will have become the expression of the newly developed longings of the people.

III

THE SHADOW OF SOCIALISM

That the new party entity of the future—dimly forecasted perhaps—will be distinguished for socialistic proclivities must by this time have been suggested to the discerning mind.¹ In order to appreciate the full power of socialism

¹ Professor Edward Dicey, referring to British politics, has made this forecast: "Thus, if I am not mistaken, the liberal party of the future, under whatever name it may be known, will be a radical party with socialist proclivities. Such a party, whatever may be the predilections of its individual members, must of necessity be anti-imperialistic."—"The Downfall of Liberalism." *Fortnightly Review*, November, 1900.

Mr. John Morley has said "that the day when the Liberal party forsook its old principles (referring to anti-imperialism and anti-militarism) the Liberal party would have to disband and to disappear. . . . The socialists would take its place. He had in the past set his back to the wall against the socialists, but if he were to choose between the socialist and the militarist with all his random aims, his profusion of the national resources, his disregard of the rights and feelings of other people he considered the socialist's standards were higher, and his means were no less wise."—Address before the Palmerston Club at Oxford, 1900, as reported by the *London Chronicle*.

As for the United States, the *New York Sun*, Republican and conservative, said

to attract those who are always sure to be out of sympathy with the imperialistic spirit, it must be scrutinized without prejudice, and, if anything, with a touch of sympathy. In such a spirit, therefore, without attempting any profound or comprehensive analysis of socialism as a philosophy of humanity or a system of economics, let us briefly suggest its possible points of potency as they may present themselves in the minds of the scattered opposition.

Socialism seems to be the only system that can or will aggressively combat the economic argument for imperialism. Reduced to the lowest terms, that argument is the necessity for widening markets. Under the present order of society in the most civilized and most populous portions of the western world, the new markets must be found, it seems, almost anywhere but at home; yet no fact is more obvious than that the real *consuming* power, as contrasted with the *purchasing* power, of our own people has never been tested. When the products of American looms seek purchasers in China is it because there are no people left in America who desire or need those products, no people who would buy them if they could pay the price asked for them? The truth is that every great city has tens of thousands, and every town its hundreds, who have an enormous capacity for consumption which they cannot begin to satisfy; while the whole United States contains millions of people whose

editorially, January 3, 1901: "The Democratic party can never again be what it was before. . . . The issue of imperialism may assume a shape which will be less artificial than that it had in the last campaign, but it will be joined with radical social theories or be subordinated by them and made incidental only. It seems inevitable that the Democratic party of the future should become the expression of popular discontent with the conditions of material progress established and of resistance to them."

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* wrote, November 23, 1900: "J. G. Shanklin, who has long been prominent in the Democratic politics of Indiana, proposes that the party should at once invade the field of Socialism. 'It should declare,' he says, 'for the initiative and referendum, for government ownership of all public utilities, for bimetallism, for an income tax, and for the election of United States Senators and other officers of the government by direct vote of the people. . . . Socialism seems to be the coming policy of government. If the Democratic party does not take it up, I believe there will be a new party.'"

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poverty alone prevents them from consuming very many times more of the products of the nation than it is now their lot to consume even in the heyday of prosperity. During seasons of hard times we are familiar with the spectacle of production being curtailed while the army of the unemployed grows like a mushroom and the soup houses cannot be opened fast enough to keep honest and able-bodied folks from starving.

Socialism may be all wrong, but in meeting the economic argument for imperialism it will at least be able to point to the undeveloped consuming power of the people at home as an answer to the demand for new markets abroad that must be appropriated and held through the costly and bloody sacrifices of the sword. Socialism at least will not be timid in charging this under-development of the home market upon the old industrial order, and in attempting to show that commercial imperialism is itself essentially a confession of the economic failure of the old industrial system.

And socialism will also show that imperialism is but a postponement of the final reckoning among the great forces of international and national competition, that it offers no ultimate solution of the industrial problem which the competitive system has left to us. The world does not contain an endless round of new foreign markets, or virgin fields for the investment of surplus capital. The earth is but 25,000 miles in circumference and the era of "commercial exploitation" in strange lands is as sure to end as the age of geographical exploration. The present "undeveloped" countries will before long be developed and then we shall see surplus capital again racing ahead of its opportunities for investment. Give to China the utmost value as a field for commercial exploitation, and you must still face the time when China, so far as foreigners are concerned, will be in the condition of a squeezed lemon. And finally we must face a China transformed into a commercial competitor of untold power by the introduction of this same capital and

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these same mechanic arts on which the West now bases its own supremacy. What must happen when the "jumping off place" in the hunt for new markets abroad has been reached? Must not an economic philosophy of the intensive rather than that of the expansive in industry then capture the field?

The socialistic assault upon commercial imperialism will not be weakened, meanwhile, by the insistence of the imperialistic writers¹ upon the highest possible development of the trust as a necessary agency in a successful struggle for supremacy in foreign markets. It amounts to this, the imperialists propose to destroy the principle of competition at home in order the more successfully to meet the conditions which the principle of competition imposes upon them abroad.

How far do they think they could go in such a process without pulling the whole house down over their heads? By the time the imperialists had reached the limit in the hunt for new foreign markets—and reach it they would even if the United States should become supreme in every market of the world—surely, the transition from the reign of private monopoly to the reign of public monopoly, or to the reign of socialism, would have been rendered all the easier. For consider the moral and intellectual effect upon the people of such a spectacle as this—an economic system destroying itself at home in order to maintain itself abroad. The sight of it could hardly be used as an argument to withstand the assault of socialism upon the entire régime of private monopoly. The economic process

¹ See "The United States as a World Power," by Charles A. Conant, the *Forum*; also, especially, "The New Industrial Revolution," by Brooks Adams, the *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1901. Mr. Adams writes: "The trust must be accepted as the corner-stone of modern civilization, and the movement toward the trust must gather momentum until the limit of possible economics has been reached. . . . Should America be destined to prevail in the struggle for empire which lies before her, those men will rule over her who can best administer masses vaster than anything now existing in the world, and the laws and institutions of our country will take the shape best adapted to the needs of the mighty engines which such men shall control."

would too much resemble a hungry snake swallowing itself by the tail, to be lost upon the humorous instincts of the American people.

Socialism at another point may prove capable of attracting the opposition because it is antagonistic to militarism and the processes of military conquest. According to all experience, imperialism involves militarism. Socialism, therefore, will be in a position to profit by the popular reaction against military burdens and losses, military influences and ideals. Itself humanitarian and idealistic regarding the masses of the people, socialism at least furnishes a strong contrast to the materialistic, coercive and often bloody phases of imperialism, and, therefore, it may easily draw to it the humanitarians and idealists who can never find their conceptions of life and government embodied in the moral philosophy of the stock exchange, Machiavellian diplomacy and the rapid-fire gun.

Socialism, furthermore, is not antagonistic to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It demands equality in the broadest sense—whether or not it could bestow it—in the industrial as well as in the political world. As for liberty, it asserts that no economic liberty is possible under the régime of private monopoly which the imperialistic writers regard as the next step in the progress of the age. Nor does socialism deny, like the imperialist philosophers, that just government rests upon “the consent of the governed.”

The celebrated “consent” doctrine, which is associated so closely with the American Declaration of Independence, is necessarily repudiated by all imperialists. To Lincoln that doctrine was more sacred than any religious creed. But American imperialists in our time treat it as an outworn or discredited piece of “eighteenth century philosophy.”¹

¹ “Governments,” said Senator Platt of Connecticut, “derive their just powers from the consent of ‘some of the governed.’” Senator Lodge refers to it as a

While the exact philosophic and scientific significance of the "consent" doctrine, as a principle of government, may be hard to determine, it must still be recognized as a permanent force in affairs. It is an error to say that it originated with Rousseau. We can readily trace "the consent of the governed" doctrine back to the English philosophers, Locke and Hooker. The truth is that the doctrine of "consent" is inseparable from the doctrine of "the sovereignty of the people." And the doctrine of popular sovereignty is historically at the base of Democratic institutions.¹ If the "consent" doctrine has no future then Democratic institutions are doomed to perish.²

The "consent" doctrine, in short, is not only as old as the idea of democracy itself; it must always find earnest protagonists in people who are most sincerely devoted to democratic principles and institutions. It is a matter of some consequence, therefore, that while imperialism minimizes or denies the vitality of the doctrine, socialism must recognize it as being a sound and living principle. On that account, socialism will become the more attractive, or tolerable, to the true adherents of democratic ideals during an imperialistic régime.

No consideration of the "drawing" power of socialism would be complete or satisfactory, in this connection, without calling special attention to the close relation in so many minds between imperialism and plutocracy. It is not

mere "aphorism," a "fair phrase that runs trippingly on the tongue." The *New York Outlook* has thrown it over entirely, saying, "We do not believe that governments rest upon the consent of the governed;" while a Chicago clergyman, Rev. Dr. P. S. Henson, has been quoted as damning it beyond hope of resurrection in these vigorous words: "There never was a greater falsehood palmed off by the devil on a credulous world."

¹ See Gierke's "Political Theories of the Middle Age," translated from the German by Maitland, pages 37-48 and 92-93.

² See "English Political Philosophy," page 62, by William Graham, Professor of Jurisprudence at Queen's College, Belfast. Commenting on Locke's theory of "consent," which was borrowed and amplified by Rousseau, Professor Graham writes: "It is true that unless they (governments) finally rest on the unforced and willing consent or agreement of the people or the majority they are not free governments."

necessary, of course, to show that plutocracy supports imperialism, when imperialistic writers in America make so much of foreign markets and defend the development of trusts as requisite to industrial and diplomatic supremacy abroad. The notorious facts of the time in China, South Africa, the Philippines and other fields of imperialistic activity reveal the zest and "go" that commercialism gives to imperialism. When Germany began establishing her colonial empire Bismarck frankly declared that these new possessions were regarded not so much as fields for German colonization as markets to be developed for the products of German industry.

The growing power of this imperialistic plutocracy is alarming a great many people.¹ Wealth, historically considered, has never been in cordial sympathy with democratic aspirations. Its social cravings have been for privilege and aristocracy, an illustration of which to-day is the growing social alliance between American millionairess and the old world nobility. Nor is history without examples of the subjugation of democracy by mere wealth.² Since plutocracy is the main objective of socialism's assault, it seems reasonable that socialism, under an imperialistic régime, would attract those who regard the imperialistic movement as essentially plutocratic, and who hold that plutocracy instinctively and inevitably threatens popular institutions.

And now let us pass in review some of the evidence as to the antagonistic relation actually existing between imperialism and socialism. "In Germany to-day," writes Theodor Barth,³ "the Social Democracy appears as the most numerous political party of the German empire," and its growth, he adds, "has taken place mainly at the cost of the old Liberal party, and has been chiefly responsible for that party's

¹ Professor Sumner, of Yale University, has said that the great issue of the future is "plutocracy against democracy."

² See "Commonwealth or Empire," by Professor Goldwin Smith.

³ "Modern Political Germany," *International Monthly*, August, 1900.

remarkable loss of immediate influence in Germany." This great Socialist party is anti-imperialistic and from its ranks comes the great bulk of, as well as the harshest of, the German criticism of the Kaiser's adventures of aggression in such countries as China. It is a striking fact that German socialism has grown most since the government embarked upon its colonial policy. Although Ferdinand Lassalle founded the Social Democratic party as early as 1862, the German socialists were many years in making any real impression upon parliamentary life. In 1871 the Socialists elected but three members to the Reichstag; in 1887, eleven. But in October, 1900, there were fifty-eight Socialist members, and recent predictions¹ are that in the next general election the Socialist party in Germany will win 100 seats out of the total of 397, and poll at least 3,000,000 popular votes. The modern colonial policy of Germany was founded substantially in the decade ending in 1890. Ever since the election of 1887 the German Socialists have made steady and alarming gains.²

The case of Italy is also of interest. The Italian Socialists are anti-imperialistic, being opposed to foreign adventure and a burdensome militarism. In the elections of 1892 their candidates for Parliament polled only 27,000 votes; in 1895 they polled 80,000. Crispi's world-power ambition with its ruinous expenditure was now in full progress, and twelve Socialist deputies soon appeared in Parliament. The Italian military disaster in Abyssinia came in March, 1896, and since then Italy has had much of the expense but none of the glory of a "spirited foreign policy." The Italian Socialists, meanwhile, have been gaining ground steadily. In the last elections they scored a real triumph, and, with the small

¹ Berlin dispatch to London *Chronicle* in October, 1900.

² See Berlin letter, dated October 15, 1900, in New York *Evening Post*, which quotes Professor Hans Delbrueck as saying: "The most interesting among the German political parties to-day is unquestionably the Social-Democratic. It is the only one harboring problems, the only one holding out a probability of future development; and it also is, to judge by the number of votes cast for it at the Reichstag elections, by far the strongest numerically. The other parties are all more or less in a state of petrification."

groups of republicans and radicals, increased the strength of the "extreme left" in Parliament to about one hundred deputies. And it has come to pass that Victor Emanuel III. has welcomed "radicals or socialists" in the cabinet.¹ The influence of this anti-imperialist, Socialist party in Italy is so great that the Zanardelli ministry, coming soon after King Humbert's assassination, has made the reduction of taxes, particularly military burdens, a leading point in its program.

Nor is the relation between imperialism and Socialism any less distinct in France. In the general election of October, 1877, there were elected to the French Chamber of Deputies 96 Monarchists, 112 Bonapartists and 325 Republicans. The writer can find no mention of Socialists being returned at that time, and it is certain that as a party, or group, they had not then made an appearance in the parliament of the republic. The curious fact, already observed in German and Italian politics, is now plainly discernible in French politics, namely, that the rapid increase of the parliamentary strength of Socialism is coincident with the development of the imperialist or colonial policy. The modern French colonial empire, in the main, was founded in the '80's of the nineteenth century. With the Socialists scarcely an appreciable or known factor in the Chamber of 1880, the Jules Ferry policy of forcible territorial enlargement began in 1881 with the French invasion of Tunis. French aggression in Indo-China came in May, 1883, and the placing of Madagascar under the French protectorate in December, 1885. The Marquesa group of Pacific Islands was seized in September, 1888. In April, 1892, came the expedition against Dahomey in West Africa. From the Tunis invasion of 1881 down to the Fashoda collision with England in 1899 France was constantly at work extending her colonial empire, and not without serious and costly wars in Tonquin and Madagascar.

¹"The Situation in Italy," by Salvatore Cortesi, in *The Speaker* (London), February 23, 1901.

Professor Lowell,¹ in his brief history of French parties under the Third Republic, does not mention the Socialists as a party until the election of 1893 is reached. Tabulating the results of that election a French authority² credits the Socialists with 49 members of the Chamber of Deputies, as distinguished from the Radicals who won 122 seats. Therefore, French parliamentary Socialism had risen from substantially nothing, during the twelve years of foreign aggression, to a membership of 49 and an established status in French politics. The spring election of 1898 witnessed a further increase of Socialist strength, the composition of the Chamber after that test of the electorate being as follows: Republicans, 254; Radicals, 104; Radical-Socialists, 74; Socialists, 57; Rallied, 38; Reactionaries, 44; Nationalists, 10. Together the Socialists and Radical-Socialists, closely allied groups, made the largest party in the Chamber, except the Republicans. And this was seventeen years after the colonial policy was put in operation.

In the elections of 1898, it is of interest to recall that M. Meline, the conservative Republican leader, expressed confidence that the French people would choose deputies "firmly resolved to fight with vigor and without compromise the social revolutionary party." Yet he was mistaken. Socialism gained ground. And the parliamentary situation in the winter of 1900-01, nearly twenty years after the invasion of Tunis, revealed a ministry, that of Waldeck-Rousseau, which rested partly upon Socialist votes, and which had a Socialist, M. Millerand, as one of its members. The French Socialists, like the others, are anti-imperialistic, or anti-colonial and anti-militarist. Pierre de Coubertin³ complains of that in discussing the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry and its program. "Together with Roman Catholicism," he writes, "military institutions and colonial expansion were denounced as the Republic's most dangerous enemies."

¹ "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe," vol. 1, page 94.

² Daniel, "L'Année Politique" for 1893, page 281.

³ "France on the Wrong Track," *American Review of Reviews*, April, 1901.

Socialism in Britain, while much less powerful, is no less anti-imperialistic than on the continent.¹ The Social Democrats, led by Hardie and John Burns, were intensely opposed to "Chamberlainism" in the recent parliamentary elections and they managed to hold their seats in the House of Commons, notwithstanding the war fever that prevailed in the country. Kier Hardie looks forward to the final struggle between liberalism and socialism for the supremacy in the opposition.² So far as Britain is concerned, also, not only is the existing political group that is called socialistic hostile to imperialism, but a portion of the old Liberal party is already socialistic.³ While it is true that most of the strongest liberal anti-imperialists are opposed to socialism, John Morley's attitude⁴ indicates that they would finally go with the socialistic wing as a last resort to fight imperialism.

In the United States we must again observe the fact that all the socialistic parties are anti-imperialistic. The labor unions are anti-imperialistic, notably the American Federation of Labor, the most influential of them all. The Populist party has had anti-imperialistic alongside its socialistic tendencies. In 1896 the Populist national platform adopted

¹ See "Election Issues," *The Labor Leader and Socialist Herald of London and Glasgow*, September 22, 1900.

² "Whatever amiable and good-hearted members of the Liberal party may think, those who control its destinies see clearly that between the commercialism of liberalism and the socialism of the Independent Labor party there can be no union . . . The struggle which is going on to-day is really one for supremacy. Either commercialism must swallow and absorb the socialist movement, or the socialist movement must gather to itself those sections of the community on which liberalism depends for its support, and thereby become the dominant factor."—Kier Hardie.

³ A member from Edinburgh, William McKewan, a free trade liberal of the old school, and also an anti-imperialist, declared about four years ago: "Ten years ago the party became tainted with the new Liberalism, which is really Collectivism . . . It is evident that we have now in the Liberal party two antagonistic forces—the one the old Liberalism, based on Liberty, the other the new Liberalism, based on Collectivism, based on Socialism and tyranny. These two forces can no more be blended or harmonized than water with oil. Sooner or later they will come into collision, and when that day comes, I am afraid a reconstruction of parties will be inevitable."—Quoted in *National Review*, January, 1901, in article on "The Political Transformation of Scotland."

⁴ See Morley's Palmerston Club speech.

at St. Louis called for postal savings banks, government ownership and operations of railroads, government ownership and the operation of the telegraphs, and the initiative and referendum—which showed the socialistic tendency. In 1900, the same party denounced the extension of American sovereignty to the Far East—which showed its hostility to imperialism.

The influence of Populism upon the old Democratic party must necessarily be socialistic, after successive campaigns of close alliance between the two. The trust and plutocracy issue in the presidential campaign of 1900 was pressed by Mr. Bryan on old-fashioned lines of individualism and competition without gaining any apparent response from the electorate. Yet one of the inner managers¹ of the Democratic campaign tells us that when certain Democratic nominees for Congress (1900) frankly advocated the destruction of monopoly by government assumption of monopoly enterprises, "in each case such candidates ran far ahead of their party tickets." This is a significant fact if it reveals in America that tendency of anti-imperialistic democracy toward socialism, which this discussion had already led us to expect, rather than toward individualism.

"It looks," says a conservative political observer,² "as if the line of divergence between the two parties would take this direction: The Republican party would become imperialistic and the Democratic party socialistic. Just what form these tendencies will take in another campaign cannot be foretold, but evidence is abundant that this will be the basis of the line of division."³ But let us be cautious and say

¹ Willis J. Abbott, in the *Forum*, February, 1901.

² Washington correspondence of *New York Evening Post*, January 15, 1901.

³ The results of the spring municipal elections of 1901 in Toledo, Cleveland, Chicago and St. Louis are a confirmation of this forecast. In the two cities first named Democratic mayors, Jones and Johnson, were elected on municipal ownership platforms, Mr. Johnson even advocating the single tax theory. In Chicago, Harrison, Democrat, was elected largely because of his opposition to the street railway company's demands in franchise matters: while in St. Louis, the bolting Democratic, or Bryan, candidate for mayor, running on a municipal ownership

simply that the opposition party, sooner or later, will probably develop on socialistic lines, provided that the régime of imperialism has its run.

The supremacy of the South in the present Democratic party cannot be considered much of a bar to that party's socialistic development since the imperialism of the Republican party, with its now necessary doctrine of inferior races, is calculated more than anything else to win support there for the Republican organization. Imperialism will end the "Solid South" if ever anything can do it. For the negro has been the primary cause of political solidity in the old slave states. Now that the Republican party, turned imperialistic, has virtually accepted the South's view of the negro race, the centripetal force of Southern political life must disappear.¹

Looking through the vista of years in both Europe and America, socialism seems to be the logical antithesis, with its domestic radicalism, to the imperialistic spirit with its financial burdens, its military conquests and its race dominations abroad. The old Democratic party of 1874-92 in the United States can no more be restored than it was possible for the House of Bourbon to revive the *ancien régime* after the downfall of Napoleon. The Revolution had left an impress upon France which no extreme of reaction could remove. And so the revolution of Bryanism has left ineffaceable marks upon the Democratic party.

While imperialism continues to embody the chief aspirations of the American people the opposition will probably be unable to develop a political organization which will for long be intrusted with government. But out of the wreck

platform, polled about 30,000 votes as against 43,000 and 35,000 respectively for the two leading candidates. In Kansas City, too, the Democrats carried the city on the municipal ownership issue, and it was their first victory in years.

¹ "I find we have passed the point where the white people from necessity were arrayed on one side to protect their civilization, with the negro race on the other, and can now afford to divide on paramount political issues, as in other states."—Ex-Senator M. C. Butler, of South Carolina, as reported in the *Baltimore Sun*, April 23, 1901.

of the present opposition there will spring, as conditions may determine, a party of great and growing vitality that some day will dominate the land, simply because it will meet the requirements of a new age. "It is no longer possible to mistake the reaction against democracy," Professor Woodrow Wilson¹ has recently written concerning democratic institutions. There will, however, be a reaction to democracy again in good time.

If we must concede that the present imperialistic movement is inevitable as a stage in evolution, the socialist more than any other, perhaps, can see in it the forerunner of his ideal universally applied in the world's affairs. While completely antagonistic to socialism under present conditions, imperialism may break a path for socialism to follow along. Imperialism may tend to bring the various nations into a closer knowledge of and community with each other. By consolidating small states, reorganizing the undeveloped and eliminating the decrepit ones, it may do for the world in politics what competition has ruthlessly done for our most advanced industrial societies. The world is very far from preparedness for socialism, even if it be a coming system; no one nation could adopt it successfully unless the world as a whole had attained some quiescence from military or commercial wars. It may be, as Mr. Roosevelt predicts, that imperialism will finally command universal peace. In that event, socialism would find more favorable world conditions for trial.

But whatever the ultimate results may be, socialism promises to grow as a protest to imperialism, as the force which offers the most available and central rallying point for the opposition, as the ideal which most fully focuses all forms of human discontent. If there must be imperialism, its antithesis, it would seem, must be socialism. Such is the conclusion, however unwelcome it may be to many minds, to which this examination of present political tendencies now brings us.

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¹ *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1901.

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE INSULAR CASES.

The decisions in the Insular cases mark the most extraordinary division of opinion in the history of the Supreme Court. In the two most important cases—*De Lima vs. Bidwell*, and *Downes vs. Bidwell*—the conclusions of the court were announced by Mr. Justice Brown. In the former he was supported by The Chief Justice, and Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham ; in the latter his concurring associates were Justices White, Shiras, McKenna and Gray ; The Chief Justice and Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham dissenting. To add to the complexity of the situation the conclusions reached by Mr. Justice Brown in the Downes case are supported by a totally different course of reasoning by the concurring Justices. In fact, in the concurring opinion of Justices White, Shiras and McKenna it is distinctly stated that while concurring in the decree affirming the judgment in the Downes case, the grounds upon which the judgment is based are “different from, if not in conflict with those” expressed in Mr. Justice Brown’s opinion.

The series of opinions brings up in acute form the question of the desirability of elaborate dissenting opinions. If certainty is the highest desideratum of law, there can be no doubt that the criticism by the minority, of principles laid down by the majority of the members of the court, hardly conduces to this end. It furthermore tends to reduce the dignity of the decisions of the tribunal, and to that extent diminishes their authority. In the income tax cases this danger first became clearly apparent, but it is greatly increased in the Insular cases, owing to the fact that the majority of the court is divided four to one in the reasoning supporting their conclusions.

The decisions have served to bring out with great clearness the peculiar position occupied by the Supreme Court. Unlike any other tribunal, it is at times called upon to pass on

questions which, while legal in form, are political in substance, profoundly affecting the fabric of our institutions. Dissenting opinions on such questions are usually characterized by a tone of criticism which is not calculated to foster respect for the Constitution nor to increase the stability of our institutions. It is true that "government by discussion" might suffer by the failure to present both sides of every important question, and it is likely that most of the objections to the present form of dissenting opinion would disappear if the dissenting Justices would confine themselves to the more positive exposition of their views rather than attempt a destructive rebuttal of the reasoning of the majority.

The court distinguishes three periods in the status of Porto Rico. The first is embraced between the date of military occupation and the ratification of the treaty of peace, during which time the Island remained foreign territory so far as the revenue laws are concerned, and customs duties could therefore be imposed under the war power. The second period begins with the ratification of the treaty and closes with the passage of the Foraker Act. In the opinion of the court the effect of such ratification was to make Porto Rico domestic territory, and to take it out of the class of "*foreign countries*," within the meaning of the Dingley Revenue Act. The collection of customs duties on Porto Rican products during this second period is therefore declared to have been illegal. These two questions were decided in the De Lima and Dooley cases.

The third period begins with the establishment of civil government, and was the subject of consideration in the Downes case. The court here makes a distinction between "those prohibitions of the Constitution such as go to the very root of the power of Congress, to act at all, irrespective of time or place, and such as are operative only" *throughout the United States* or among the several states. Porto Rico, it is held, while belonging to the United States, is not a part

of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution. The court clearly intimates that the power of Congress with respect to the territories is not absolute. All those provisions which specifically restrict the competency of Congress are quite as applicable in the territories as in the states. "Thus, when the Constitution declares that no bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed, it goes to the competency of Congress to pass a bill of that description." This would seem to make the bill of rights contained in the first eight amendments applicable to Porto Rico. In order to avoid the appearance of passing definitely upon this point the court says: "We do not wish, however, to be understood as expressing an opinion how far the bill of rights contained in the first eight amendments is of general, and how far of local application."

To appreciate the full import of the decisions and the radically divergent views presented in the majority and minority opinions, it is necessary to make a brief analysis of each. The three cases—*Dooley vs. United States*, *De Lima vs. Bidwell* and *Downes vs. Bidwell*—present in logical order the questions examined by the court.

The case of *Dooley vs. United States* was the first involving the validity of duties collected prior to the ratification of the treaty of Paris. It also involved duties collected subsequent to such ratification, but as this question is more fully discussed in the *De Lima* and *Downes* cases, it is only necessary to examine the *Dooley* case with reference to the one question, namely, the validity of customs duties collected prior to the eleventh of April, 1899. On this point, and on this point alone, the court is unanimous. The exaction of customs duties during this period is justified as an exercise of the war power. "Upon the occupation of the country by the military forces of the United States the authority of the Spanish government was superseded, but the need for a revenue did not cease. The government must be carried on, and there was no one left to administer

its functions but the military forces of the United States. Money is requisite for that purpose, and money could only be raised by order of the military commander. The most natural method was by the continuation of existing duties."

The validity of duties collected subsequent to the ratification of the treaty of Paris, but prior to the establishment of civil government, was involved in the *De Lima* case. Mr. Justice Brown delivered the opinion of the court; The Chief Justice, Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham concurring. Two dissenting opinions were filed, one by Mr. Justice McKenna (Justices Shiras and White concurring), the other by Mr. Justice Gray.

In comparing the majority and minority opinions the most striking difference is in the relative importance given to the factor of "expediency." The majority opinion adopts certain hard and fast rules of interpretation, and shows an evident disinclination to give any weight to the inconvenience which might result to the political organs of the government because of such interpretation. The minority opinion, on the other hand, contains a broad treatment of the relation between the different departments of the government, and it is easy to detect a settled determination to leave to Congress and the Executive a free hand in dealing with our new possessions. The minority seems to be impressed with the fact that the power and influence of the Supreme Court of the United States has been largely maintained through well settled traditions of judicial self-control, which has led the court, whenever possible, to avoid placing obstacles in the way of the political organs of the government when dealing with great questions of public policy.

To the majority, the question to be decided turns upon the meaning of the word "foreign," *i. e.*, whether Porto Rico after the ratification of the treaty of Paris remained "foreign territory" within the meaning of the tariff laws. To the minority, it is one of public policy as well, to be viewed broadly with reference to the altered circumstances

in the development of the country and also with a view to the probable effect upon the power of Congress and the Executive, if the rules as formulated by the majority prevail.

Whether Porto Rico is a "foreign country" within the meaning of the tariff laws presents itself as an extremely simple one to the majority of the court. The definition of Mr. Chief Justice Marshall: "A foreign country is one exclusively within the sovereignty of a foreign nation, and without the sovereignty of the United States"¹ is accepted as conclusive.

The first difficulty which the court meets in attempting to reconcile this conclusion with the established precedents is the case of *Fleming vs. Page*,² which was an action to recover duties on merchandise imported from Tampico (Mexico) during the occupation of that port by the troops of the United States. In that case the court laid down the rule that until Congress brought such port within the customs lines, by establishing a collection district, Tampico remained a foreign port so far as revenue laws of the United States are concerned. The majority of the court in the De Lima case, while accepting the conclusions of *Fleming vs. Page*, qualify its application by regarding *as dictum* that portion of the opinion which relates to the establishment of collection districts.

The case upon which the court chiefly relies is *Cross vs. Harrison*,³ which involved the validity of duties paid at the port of San Francisco upon merchandise imported from foreign countries into California between February 2, 1849, —the date of the treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico, and November 13, 1849, when the collector appointed by the President under an act of Congress passed March 3, 1849, entered upon his duties. In this case the

¹ The Boat "Eliza," 2 Gall. 4.

² 9 Howard 603.

³ 16 Howard 164.

court held that "after the ratification of the treaty, California became a part of the United States, or a ceded, conquered territory" and that "*as there is nothing differently stipulated in the treaty with respect to commerce,*¹ it became instantly bound and privileged by the laws which Congress had passed to raise a revenue from duties on imports and tonnage." The italicised clause is important as it enables the dissenting justices to invoke the same opinion in support of their view.

But, even in the absence of all precedent, the conclusions of the court would remain unchanged: "Were this presented as an original question, we would be impelled irresistibly to the same conclusion." Under the Constitution, treaties and laws of the United States are of equal force and effect. One of the ordinary incidents of a treaty is the cession of territory, and it follows from this "that by the ratification of the treaty of Paris the Island became territory of the United States,—although not an organized territory in the technical sense of the word." The theory that "a country remains foreign with respect to the tariff laws until Congress has acted by embracing it within the customs union presupposes that a country may be domestic for one purpose and foreign for another." The conclusion of the court is therefore that "at the time these duties were levied, Porto Rico was not a foreign country within the meaning of the tariff laws but a territory of the United States, that the duties were illegally exacted and that the plaintiffs are entitled to recover them back."

It is important to note that the military government was in operation more than a year after the ratification of the treaty of Paris. Under the decision in the De Lima case, however, all duties collected after the ratification of the treaty, whether under military or civil rule, are invalid. While the military arm might continue to govern the Island, the ratification of the treaty of cession made it domestic

¹ The italics are not in the original.

territory, and the power to exact further customs duties therefore ceased. This principle is laid down in *Dooley vs. United States* and reasserted in the *De Lima* case.

Between the majority and minority in the *De Lima* case, there exists an irreconcilable difference of opinion as to the meaning of the words "foreign country" as used in the revenue laws. The minority unqualifiedly accepts the interpretation of *Fleming vs. Page*. "We submit" says Mr. Justice McKenna "that the principle upon which *Fleming vs. Page* was based is still a proper principle for judicial application. Does it not make government provident, not haphazard, ignoring circumstances and producing good or ill accidentally? Does it not leave to the Executive and the Legislative Departments that which pertains to them? Did it not stand as a guide to the Executive—a warrant of action, so far as action might affect private rights? Indeed, what is of greater concern—so far as action might affect great public interests? It should, we submit, be accepted as a precedent. It is wise in practice; considerate of what government must regard, and of the different functions of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial departments and of their independence. Why should it then be discarded as *dictum*? If constancy of judicial decision is necessary to regulate the relations and property rights of individuals, is not constancy of decision the more necessary when it may influence or has influenced the action of a nation? If the other departments of the government must look to the judicial for light, that light should burn steadily. It should not, like the exhalations of a marsh, shine to mislead."

In the interpretation of *Cross vs. Harrison* the minority is no nearer the majority than in regard to *Fleming vs. Page*. Extracts from the opinion are quoted to show that no automatic application was given to the tariff laws in that case, but that their extension was made dependent upon the action of the President. To remove any further doubt the difference between the treaty with Mexico and the treaty with Spain

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is pointed out. The former provided specifically for the incorporation of the ceded territory into the United States; whereas the latter expressly declares that the status of the ceded territory is to be determined by Congress.

Finally, the views of the majority as to the effect of treaties of cession upon our domestic institutions, are examined. If by such treaties, all newly acquired territory must be regarded as domestic, and all the laws of the United States automatically applicable thereto, consequences of the gravest nature may result, particularly to the revenue system. "Its entire plan may be impaired or be destroyed by change in any part. The revenues of the government may be lessened, even taken away by change; the industrial policy of the country may be destroyed by change. We are repelled by the argument which leads to such consequences, whether regarding our own country or the foreign country made 'domestic.' If 'domestic' as to what comes from it, it is 'domestic' as to what goes to it, and its customs laws as well as our customs laws may be cast into confusion, and its business and affairs deranged before there is possibility of action. Under the theory of automatic and immediate incorporation neither we nor the conquered nation would have any choice in the new situation,—could make no recommendation to exigency, would stand bound in a hopeless fatality. Whatever be the interests, temporary or permanent, whatever might be the condition or fitness of the ceded territory, the effect on it or on us, the territory would become a part of the United States with all that implies."

In the opinion of the minority Porto Rico occupies a relation to the United States, "between that of being a foreign country absolutely, and of being domestic territory absolutely." Such a view "vindicates the government from national and international weakness. It exhibits the Constitution as a charter of great and vital authorities, with limitations indeed, but with such limitations as serve

and assist government, not destroy it; which, though fully enforced, yet enable the United States to have—what it was intended to have ‘an equal station among the Powers of the earth,’ and to do all ‘Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.’”

Mr. Justice Gray in a separate dissenting opinion points out that the majority opinion is irreconcilable with the unanimous opinion of the court in *Fleming vs. Page*, and with the opinions of the majority in *Downes vs. Bidwell*.

The De Lima case only settled the question of the applicability of the tariff laws of the United States during the period between the ratification of the treaty of Paris (April 11, 1899) and the establishment of civil government (May 1, 1900). The Downes case which was made the subject of the most exhaustive analysis, by both the majority and the minority, involved the question of the validity of customs duties collected subsequent to the establishment of civil government.

In the De Lima case the court was only called upon to decide whether Porto Rico was a “foreign country” within the meaning of the tariff laws. For the decision of this question it was not absolutely necessary to discuss the applicability of constitutional provisions to the territories. The only question to be passed upon was whether the ratification of the treaty had taken Porto Rico out of the category of “foreign countries” within the meaning of the enacting clause of the Dingley Tariff Act, which reads: “There shall be levied, collected and paid upon all articles imported from foreign countries,” etc. As was contended by the minority, the word “foreign” as used in that Act must be examined with reference to the intent of Congress in framing the tariff laws, and, that to hold that Porto Rico was not “foreign” in the same sense that Germany or France is “foreign” does not answer the question at issue.

It is true that the court in the De Lima case took up the question of the applicability of the Constitution to the ter-

ritories, but it did not give the subject the exhaustive treatment which we find in the Downes case. In the De Lima case the court held "that upon the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain, Porto Rico ceased to be a foreign country, and became a territory of the United States, and that duties were not legally collectible upon merchandise brought from that Island." In the Downes case the court was called upon to determine whether Porto Rico became a part of the United States within that provision of the Constitution which declares "that all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." The judgment of the court, answering this question in the negative is concurred in by Justices Brown, White, Shiras, McKenna and Gray. But while the majority of the court is agreed as to the validity of duties collected on goods coming from Porto Rico, subsequent to the act establishing a civil government, there is, as has already been pointed out, a marked divergence in the reasoning supporting this conclusion. We have, in fact, three opinions to deal with. One by Mr. Justice Brown, in which he announces the conclusions of the court, another by Mr. Justice White, concurred in by Justices Shiras, McKenna and Gray, and a dissenting opinion by The Chief Justice, concurred in by Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham. In the judgment, therefore, the court is divided five to four, but if we disassociate the judgment from the supporting opinions we find a different grouping,—Mr. Justice Brown stands alone, the other eight Justices being equally divided.

In an analysis of the opinions it is evident that the opinion written by Mr. Justice White deserves first place inasmuch as it has the support of three of his colleagues,—Justices Shiras, McKenna and Gray. The leading premise in the reasoning of Mr. Justice White is that Congress, in governing the territories, is subject to the Constitution; in other words, that "every provision of the Constitution which is applicable to the territories is also controlling therein."

After a considerable preliminary discussion, Mr. Justice White formulates the real question at issue: "Had Porto Rico, at the time of the passage of the act in question (Foraker Act), been incorporated into and become an integral part of the United States?" In answer thereto the court invokes the principles laid down in *American Insurance Co. vs. Canter*, that "if conquered territory be ceded by treaty, the acquisition is confirmed, and the ceded territory becomes a part of the union to which it is annexed, either on the terms stipulated in the treaty of cession or on such as its new master shall impose." As Mr. Justice White cogently says, "to concede to the government of the United States the right to acquire, and to strip it of all power to protect the birthright of its own citizens and to provide for the well-being of the acquired territory by such enactments as may in view of its condition be essential, is, in effect, to say that the United States is helpless in the family of nations, and does not possess that authority which has at all times been treated as an incident of the right to acquire."

If the treaty-making power has the right to effect the absolute incorporation of new territory into the United States, the representative organ of the government,—the House of Representatives,—would be stripped of its most important powers. "Although the House of Representatives might be unwilling to agree to the incorporation of alien races, it would be impotent to prevent its accomplishment, and the express provisions conferring upon Congress the power to regulate commerce, the right to raise revenue—bills for which, by the Constitution, must originate in the House of Representatives—and the authority to prescribe uniform naturalization laws, would be in effect set at naught by the treaty-making power."

In the view of Mr. Justice White, the United States at the adoption of the Constitution consisted not only of States but also of territories, but that subsequently acquired territory whether by purchase or by treaty could not be incor-

porated into the United States, except by the express or implied assent of Congress. "It is then, as I think," says Mr. Justice White, "indubitably settled by the principles of the law of nations, by the nature of the government created under the Constitution, by the express and implied powers conferred upon that government by the Constitution, by the mode in which those powers have been executed, from the beginning, and by an unbroken line of decisions of this court, first announced by Marshall and followed and lucidly expounded by Taney, that the treaty-making power cannot incorporate territory into the United States without the express or implied assent of Congress, that it may insert in a treaty, conditions against immediate incorporation, and that on the other hand when it has expressed in the treaty the conditions favorable to incorporation, they will, if the treaty be not repudiated by Congress, have the force of the law of the land, and therefore by the fulfillment of such conditions cause incorporation to result. It must follow, therefore, that where a treaty contains no conditions for incorporation, and, above all, where it not only has no such conditions but expressly provides to the contrary, that incorporation does not arise until, in the wisdom of Congress, it is deemed that the acquired territory has reached that state where it is proper that it should enter into and form a part of the American family."

While, therefore, at the time these duties were collected (November, 1900) Porto Rico was not a foreign country in an international sense, "since it was subject to the sovereignty of and was owned by the United States, it was foreign to the United States in a domestic sense, because the Island had not been incorporated into the United States, but was merely appurtenant thereto as a possession. As a necessary consequence, the impost in question assessed on merchandise coming from Porto Rico into the United States after the cession, was within the power of Congress, and that body was not, moreover, as to such imposts, controlled

by the clause requiring that imposts should be uniform throughout the United States."

In the opinion written by Mr. Justice Brown there is an evident intention to prove that the territories have never been considered a part of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution. He deduces this from the character of the Articles of Confederation, the wording of the Constitution, and the nature of the territorial government established in the Northwest territory. The practice of the government in dealing with the territories during the present century is examined with considerable detail, with a view to showing that Congress has recognized the fact "that provisions intended for the States did not embrace the territories unless especially mentioned." Mr. Justice Brown then proceeds to examine the precedents established by the Supreme Court and admits, at the outset, that the decisions of the court upon this subject have not been altogether harmonious. Before examining these cases he is careful to lay down the rule established in *Cohens vs. Virginia*, (6 Wheaton 264, 399) that "it is a maxim not to be disregarded that general expressions in every opinion are to be taken in connection with the case in which those expressions are used. If they go beyond the case, they may be respected, but ought not to control the decision in a subsequent suit when the very point is presented for decision."

Having reached the conclusion that the territories are not to be considered parts of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution, Mr. Justice Brown proceeds to establish a distinction between such prohibitions as are operative only throughout the United States or among the several States, and such as go to the very root of the power of Congress to act at all, irrespective of time or place. "When the Constitution declares that no bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed, and that no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, it goes to the competency of Congress to pass a bill of that description." On the other

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hand when the Constitution simply states that a certain rule shall be established throughout the United States, such as that relating to the uniformity of duties, imposts and excises, it only becomes necessary to inquire whether there be any territory over which Congress has jurisdiction, which is not a part of the United States, "by which term we understand the *States* whose people *united* to form the Constitution, and such as have since been admitted to the Union upon an equality with them." The fact that there may be such territory is proven to the satisfaction of Mr. Justice Brown by the wording of the Thirteenth Amendment which recognizes a distinction between the United States and "any place subject to their jurisdiction."

In order to quiet any apprehension as to the danger of placing the inhabitants of a territory at the complete mercy of Congress, Mr. Justice Brown endeavors to strengthen the distinction between the two classes of Constitutional provisions above referred to, by resurrecting the "natural rights theory" so dear to one of his former colleagues—Justice Field. "We suggest, without intending to decide, that there may be a distinction between certain natural rights, enforced in the Constitution by prohibitions against interference with them, and what would be termed artificial or remedial rights, which are peculiar to our own system of jurisprudence. Of the former class are the rights to one's own religious opinion, and to a public expression of them, or, as sometimes said, to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience; the right to personal liberty and individual property; to freedom of speech and of the press; to free access to courts of justice; to due process of law and to an equal protection of the laws; to immunities from unreasonable searches and seizures, as well as cruel and unusual punishments; and to such other immunities as are indispensable to a free government. Of the latter class are the rights to citizenship, to suffrage, and to the particular methods of procedure pointed out in the Con-

stitution, which are peculiar to Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, and some of which have already been held by the States to be unnecessary to the proper protection of individuals."

The conclusion reached by Mr. Justice Brown is that the right of the national government to acquire foreign territory once established; the presumption arises that its power with respect to such territories is the same as other nations have been accustomed to exercise with respect to territory acquired by them, or as he forcibly puts it: "Choice in some cases, the natural gravitation of small bodies to large ones in others, the result of a successful war in still others, may bring about conditions which would render the annexation of distant possessions desirable. If those possessions are inhabited by alien races, differing from us in religion, customs, laws, methods of taxation and modes of thought, the administration of government and justice, according to Anglo-Saxon principles, may for a time be impossible; and the question at once arises whether large concessions ought not to be made for a time, that, ultimately, our own theories may be carried out, and the blessings of a free government under the Constitution extended to them. We decline to hold that there is anything in the Constitution to forbid such action."

Mr. Justice Gray, in filing an additional concurring opinion, agrees with Mr. Justice White and presents no new considerations of importance.

In comparing the opinions of Justices White and Brown, the main difference in the reasoning is to be found in the fact that Mr. Justice Brown does not regard any of the territories as part of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution, and therefore holds inapplicable those provisions which refer to a uniform rule "throughout the United States." Mr. Justice White on the other hand regards such provisions as applicable the moment newly acquired territory is incorporated into the Union by act of Congress, but holds that the treaty-making power cannot

effect such incorporation. Congressional action is necessary in order to make acquired territory a part of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution. In one sense therefore, Mr. Justice White places narrower limits to the power of Congress than Mr. Justice Brown, for according to the latter, Congress in dealing with the territories is not bound by the provisions of the Constitution which refer to the "*United States*," even after such territories have been incorporated into the Union by Congressional action. In the opinion of Mr. Justice White, on the other hand, all provisions of the Constitution which are in any way applicable to the territories acquire full force and effect therein, the moment such territory is incorporated into the United States by act of Congress.

The dissenting opinion in the *Downes* case is presented by The Chief Justice, Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham concurring. The opinion rests upon a strict interpretation of the provisions of the Constitution relating to the powers of Congress. To the minority, the case of *Loughborough vs. Blake* (5 Wheaton 317) is conclusive. Mr. Chief Justice Marshall's definition of the term "*United States*"¹ as used in the Constitution is accepted without reserve, and the view of the majority that such definition was *obiter* is unqualifiedly rejected.

The rule of interpretation being settled, there can be no doubt as to the limitations on the power of Congress. The attitude of the dissenting justices is well illustrated in their

¹ The power then to lay and collect duties, imposts and excises may be exercised, and must be exercised throughout the United States. Does this term designate the whole, or any portion of the American empire? Certainly this question can admit of but one answer. It is the name given to our great republic, which is composed of States and territories. The District of Columbia, or the territory west of the Missouri, is not less within the United States, than Maryland or Pennsylvania; and it is not less necessary, on the principles of our Constitution, the uniformity in the imposition of imposts, duties and excises should be observed in the one, than in the other. Since, then, the power to lay and collect taxes, which includes direct taxes, is obviously co-extensive with the power to lay and collect duties, imposts and excises, and since the latter extends throughout the United States, it follows that the power to impose direct taxes also extends throughout the United States."—*Marshall, C. J., in Loughborough vs. Blake.*

approval of the doctrine, that the Constitution "neither changes with time nor does it in theory bend to the force of circumstances. It may be amended according to its own permission; but while it stands it is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times and under all circumstances. Its principles cannot, therefore, be set aside in order to meet the supposed necessities of great crises." The question is whether Congress having created a civil government for Porto Rico, having constituted its inhabitants a body politic, and having given it a governor and other officers, a legislative assembly, and courts, with right of appeal to this court, can in the same act and in the exercise of the power conferred by the first clause of section eight of the Constitution, impose duties on the commerce between Porto Rico and the States and other territories in contravention of the rule of uniformity qualifying the power. "If this can be done, it is because the power of Congress over commerce between the States and any of the territories is not restricted by the Constitution."

While concurring in the dissenting opinion of the The Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Harlan in a separate opinion, offers reply to some of the doctrines laid down by the majority. The principle upon which he rests his view is that Congress has no existence and can exercise no authority outside of the Constitution. "This nation is under the control of a written Constitution, the supreme law of the land and the only source of the powers which our Government, or any branch or officer of it, may exert at any time or at any place. Monarchical and despotic governments, unrestrained by written constitutions, may do with newly acquired territories what this Government may not do consistently with our fundamental law. To say otherwise is to concede that Congress may, by action taken outside of the Constitution, engraft upon our republican institutions a colonial system such as exists under monarchical governments."

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In answer to the suggestion of Mr. Justice White, that conditions may arise when, with the annexation of distant possessions we will have to deal with an alien race, unprepared for the administration of government according to Anglo-Saxon principles, Mr. Justice Harlan says: "Whether a particular race will or will not assimilate with our people, and whether they can or cannot with safety to our institutions be brought within the operation of the Constitution, is a matter to be thought of when it is proposed to acquire their territory by treaty. A mistake in the acquisition of territory, although such acquisition seemed at the time to be necessary, cannot be made the ground for violating the Constitution or refusing to give full effect to its provisions. The Constitution is not to be obeyed or disobeyed as the circumstances of a particular crisis in our history may suggest the one or the other course to be pursued."

Any attempt to discuss opinions of such far-reaching political importance from an exclusively legal standpoint, must necessarily meet with considerable difficulty. Their relation to our public policy is so intimate, that their true significance can only be appreciated when examined in the light of the constitutional development of the country. The opinions, themselves, fail to separate considerations of public policy from strictly legal principles. Not that this is surprising; it lies in the nature of the questions involved. In passing on an issue such as this, the court is brought face to face with the broadest of political questions,—namely,—the adaptation of an instrument of government to an entirely new set of problems.

The legal controversy waged before the Supreme Court in the Insular cases is but a chapter in that larger struggle, whose successive stages are marked by such questions, as,—the right to purchase Louisiana and Florida, the right to charter a United States bank, the right to enact a protective tariff, the right to govern the territories and the right to issue legal tender. Not only do the arguments in the cases involving

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these questions, bear close resemblance to those used in the Insular cases, but the division of opinion in the court is traceable to the same divergence of view as to the nature of our constitutional system. That the final result of the century of constitutional controversy is expressed in wider national powers, and in an ever-increasing ability of the national government to cope with great and new questions of public policy is not without significance for the questions now under consideration.

Whenever the Supreme Court has been called upon to decide questions relating to the power of the executive and legislative departments of the government over territory belonging to the United States, but not situated within any of the States, the Court has, as a rule, decided in favor of the plenary powers of the political organs of the government. The desire not to hamper the political organs of the government in the choice of means, when confronted with great problems, has at times led the court to resort to the most advanced form of legal dialectics and even to legal fictions. It is true that, in the course of its opinions, the court has often indulged in expressions tending to give support to both parties in subsequent controversies, but the final judgment has, as a rule, broadened rather than limited the discretionary power of Congress and the President. The case of *Fleming vs. Page*, which the minority of the Court in the *De Lima* case attempts to qualify, but which is accepted unreservedly by the majority, and is invoked by four of the Justices in the *Downes* case, is one of the most striking illustrations of this attitude of the Court. The expressions of opinion as to the power of Congress over newly acquired territory in this and in subsequent cases clearly shows a settled purpose on the part of the Court to leave such status to be determined by the political organs of the government.

When the Court in *Mormon Church vs. United States* (136 U. S. 42) says,—“the territory of Louisiana when acquired from France, and the territories west of the Rocky Moun-

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tains when acquired from Mexico, became the absolute property and domain of the United States, subject to such conditions as the government, in its diplomatic negotiations had seen fit to accept, relating to the rights of the people then inhabiting these territories " it is simply giving expression to a rule which was not, and could not, be embodied in the Constitution at the time of its adoption, because the circumstances which called forth the rule were absent. Fortunately, however, the provisions of the Constitution were framed in such general terms, and the absolute prohibitions upon the central government were so few, that when a new situation arose, it was possible to formulate the new rule without doing violence to any constitutional provision. The same attitude of the Court is illustrated in *National Bank vs. County of Yankton* (101 U. S. 129), in which the Court says,— " the territories are but political subdivisions of the outlying dominion of the United States." Even in the case of *Cross vs. Harrison*, so strongly relied upon by the majority of the Court in the De Lima case, the expressions bearing on the specific point at issue, viz., duties paid after the ratification of the treaty with Mexico and prior to the admission of California as a State, tend to show the desire of the Court to place California, prior to its admission, under the complete control of Congress.

As to the reasoning of the Court in the Insular cases, it is interesting to note how largely the element of " expediency " enters into all the opinions, but especially in the dissenting opinions in the De Lima and Dooley cases. In the latter, Mr. Justice White, after examining in detail the inconvenience which would result if instantly, on the ratification of a treaty, articles coming from a newly acquired territory should be entitled to free entry into the United States, says: " All these suggestions however, it is argued, but refer to expediency, and are entitled to no weight as against the theory that, under the Constitution, the tariff laws of the United States took effect of their own force immediately upon the

cession. But this is fallacious. For, if it be demonstrated that a particular result cannot be accomplished without destroying the revenue power conferred upon Congress by the Constitution, and without annihilating the conceded authority of the government in other respects, such demonstration shows the unsoundness of the argument which magnifies the results flowing from the exercise, by the treaty-making power, of its authority to acquire, to the detriment and destruction of that balanced and limited government which the Constitution called into being."

The majority in the *De Lima* case (The Chief Justice, Justices Brown, Harlan, Brewer and Peckham), and the minority in the *Downes* case (The Chief Justice, Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham) express themselves as strongly opposed to giving any weight to the element of expediency, and yet, a careful analysis of these opinions will show that while this class of considerations is not given the same prominence as in the opinion quoted above, the Court is unable to avoid the discussion of the influence of its conclusions on the powers of Congress and the President.

A comparison of the opinions in the *Insular* cases will show that in spite of the great divergence in conclusions, eight of the nine Justices are agreed as to at least one important principle of constitutional interpretation. This fact has been obscured by the undue prominence given to Mr. Justice Brown's opinion in the *Downes* case. Mr. Justice White (Justices Shiras, Gray and McKenna concurring) and The Chief Justice (Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham concurring) are agreed that Congress, in governing the territories, derives its authority and is subject to all the limitations of the Constitution applicable thereto. In other words eight of the nine Justices lay down the rule that Congress cannot withhold the Constitution from territory under its control after such territory has been incorporated into the United States. As Mr. Justice White tersely puts it:—"In the case of the territories as in every other

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instance, when a provision of the Constitution is involved, the question which arises is not whether the Constitution is operative, for that is self-evident, but whether the provision relied on is applicable." This principle is of transcendent importance, as it sets at rest much of the uncertainty aroused by some of the earlier decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The opinions of the four concurring and four dissenting Justices in the *Downes* case diverge in the interpretation of the effect of the treaty of cession and the establishment of civil government, upon the status of Porto Rico. In the opinion of the four dissenting Justices the ratification of the treaty made Porto Rico a part of the United States, and therefore no act of Congress or of the Executive, nor even their combined action could treat Porto Rico differently from other parts of the United States. It is interesting to note that the same view is presented by Mr. Justice Brown in the *De Lima* case. On the other hand, Justices White, Shiras, Gray and McKenna take the view in the *Downes* case, which is likewise consistent with their view in the *De Lima* case,—that a treaty of cession cannot make newly acquired territory a part of the United States in a domestic sense; that is, it cannot incorporate an alien people into the United States without the express or implied approval of Congress. They expressly repudiate the theory that the "Union of the United States" is a union of states only, and hold that the term "United States" within the meaning of the Constitution embraces the states and such territories as have been made part of the United States by the express or implied assent of Congress. The logical result of this rule is that Congress may insert in a treaty conditions against immediate incorporation. The view of Mr. Justice Brown is that the Union is a union of states alone, and that the territories do not form a part of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution. We therefore find three gradations of opinion as to the scope of the

term "United States" as used in the Constitution. The Chief Justice and Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham take the view that the moment new territory is acquired, no matter under what conditions or circumstances, such territory becomes a part of the United States, within the meaning of the Constitution and all constitutional guarantees and limitations immediately become applicable. On the other hand, Justices White, Shiras, Gray and McKenna hold that such newly acquired territory does not come within the constitutional provisions until the political organs of the government, namely,—Congress and the President, have given their express or implied assent to the incorporation of such territory into the United States. Finally, Mr. Justice Brown leans strongly to the opinion that the term "United States" as used in the Constitution refers to the union of states and does not include the territories.

Testing these three views by the strict canons of legal precedent, we find that they all have a basis in expressions of opinion by the court in earlier cases. This is largely due to the fact that the question of the applicability of the Constitution to newly acquired territory has never presented itself in such definite form. The precedents cited in the Insular cases should be examined in the light of the principle laid down by Mr. Justice Taney in the *Genesee Chief* case (12 Howard 443), when, in justifying a departure from a principle laid down in an earlier decision, he said "the great importance of the question as it now presents itself could not have been foreseen, and the subject therefore did not receive the elaborate consideration which at this time would have been given it."

The consciousness that a new situation confronts the country seems particularly evident in the opinion of Mr. Justice White in the Downes case. His views give evidence of a desire to formulate a principle at once simple and readily intelligible. Whether we agree or disagree with his conclusions, they furnish a clear and definite rule by which

the political organs of the government may guide their conduct in dealing with newly acquired territory. The principle of interpretation as laid down gives to them complete power over such territory until, by express legislative enactment or by acquiescence in a rule contained in a treaty of cession, such acquired territory is made a part of the United States. Until such action is taken by Congress, the territory remains subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, but does not become a part thereof, and the only limitations upon the power of Congress are those prohibitions of the Constitution which go to the very root of the power of Congress to act at all, irrespective of time or place; or, as Mr. Justice White says: "by those absolute withdrawals of power which the Constitution has made in favor of human liberty, and which are applicable to every condition or status."

Although this view receives the assent of but three of his associates, it seems likely from the reasoning of the dissenting Justices, that it will furnish the basis for the Philippine decision, unless some radical change be made in the make-up of the court. The great merit of the principle as thus laid down lies in the fact that it enables the political organs of the government to deal with the newly acquired territory in accordance with its requirements.

It is fortunate, both for the immediate needs of our public policy, as well as the future expansion of the country, that the doctrine of immediate, irrevocable, automatic incorporation through mere cession has been repudiated. If the views of the four dissenting Justices in the *Downes* case had prevailed, both Congress and the Executive would have found their hands tied in dealing with our new possessions in such a way as to make efficient government almost, if not quite, impossible. No instrument of government no matter how perfect, can long withstand such a strain. In all the crises of our national life, the Constitution has been found adequate to meet new situations as they presented themselves. In

spite of some uncertainty as to the view of the court on a number of important questions relating to the government of acquired territory, a rule of interpretation has now been formulated, sufficiently broad to enable Congress to deal with the immediate necessities of the situation. Any interpretation which falls short of this requirement must react injuriously upon the authority of the Constitution. To preserve its authority the principle pronounced by Mr. Justice Story in *Martin vs. Hunter's Lessee* (1 Wheaton 326) must ever be kept in mind. "The Constitution unavoidably deals in general language. It did not suit the purposes of the people, in framing this great charter of our liberties, to provide for minute specifications of its powers, or to declare the means by which those powers should be carried into execution. It was foreseen that this would be a perilous and difficult, if not an impracticable task. The instrument was not intended to provide merely for the exigencies of a few years, but was to endure through a long lapse of ages, the events of which were locked up in the inscrutable purposes of Providence. It could not be foreseen what new changes and modifications of power might be indispensable to effectuate the general objects of the charter; and restrictions and specifications which at the present might seem salutary, might in the end prove the overthrow of the system itself. Hence its powers are expressed in general terms, leaving to the legislature, from time to time, to adopt its own means to effectuate legitimate objects, and to mould and model the exercise of its powers as its wisdom and the public interests should require."

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SOCIAL, DECADENCE.

There are three kinds of decadence liable to occur in human society, namely, personal, racial, and social. Personal decadence needs no explanation. When this species of degeneration becomes prevalent, the phenomenon of racial decay occurs. Since the development of civilization depends on the character or mental constitution of the race, and since any degeneration of the race in physique is always accompanied by corresponding weakening of mental powers, it follows that racial decay finally entails social dissolution. Yet though racial decay causes social disintegration the converse is by no means true. With social decadence there is often no sign of race deterioration. Eighteenth century France, for instance, experienced a period of social decay. Yet the French race was then, perhaps, more strong, healthful, and capable than ever before. The mechanical framework of a social system based on institutions and customs which had long since survived their utility, enclosed within its bounds millions of individuals who were just beginning to be conscious of themselves in relation to their fellow men. "Sire," said the Marshal de Richelieu, who had seen three reigns, addressing Louis XVI., "under Louis XIV. no one dared utter a word ; under Louis XV. people whispered ; under your majesty they talk aloud."¹ Opinion begins to war with tradition. Divine prestige which had for centuries wrapped ancient institutions in its protecting embrace, is suddenly withdrawn, revealing only skeletons. Authority yields to investigation, revelation lies prostrate before science. Skepticism, the necessary antecedent of progress, becomes the ruling principle of thought and action. The critical, comparative method introduced by Buffon, Lavoisier and Lalande is applied by Montesquieu, Diderot, and Voltaire to the political and social questions of the day.

¹ Taine, *The Ancient Régime*, p. 125.

The theories of the thinkers, adopted and carried into action by the Revolutionists, caused such a public sentiment against authority of all kinds that, during the early days of the Revolution, France presents to the world the spectacle of a nation of separate individuals, each so infatuated with his own "rights" that his duties to others are conveniently ignored. On all sides social structures collapse. So far have the people forgotten the value of association that all literary societies, academies of science, schools, seminaries, colleges, even those of the Sorbonne, are suppressed. This presents a state of disintegration—a perfect picture of social decay. Yet so strong, so vigorous is the race that, in but a few years, the liberty-intoxicated people of the Revolution, recovering their balance, erect a new France on the ashes of the old.

Having characterized personal and racial decadence the question remains, What is to be understood by social decadence? "Whatever else a stable society is," says M. Tarde in his *Logique Sociale*, . . . "it is, above all, an interlacement of sympathetic sentiments." The vital elements in every society are the subtle, invisible bonds which make possible association and co-operation and it is to the decay of these that attention must be directed. Social decay, therefore, means the perishing of these vital elements which hold the members of society together.

Now what does the word *decadent* imply? First of all the idea of a former high degree of excellence. *Decadent* which implies a *has been*, must therefore be distinguished from *primitive* which suggests a *to be*. The old man and the infant are alike bald, toothless, weak, "childish" in thought; but these characteristics are due in the one case to worn-out capacities, in the other to undeveloped powers. Just so the primitive group and the decadent group often have much in common. Each is marked by disorder and consequent resort to force to maintain the *status quo* of the classes. But in the primitive type this control by force indicates an

advance from the tribal to a higher organization of the group; in the decadent type it signifies the dissolution of the vital forces of a once prosperous society.

Thus declining Rome used measures of control just as severe as those employed by any primitive society. Personal liberty was as little respected then as at any period in the world's history. Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in the fourth century A. D., of the reign of the Emperor Constantius, says: "For if any one of his military officers or of those who had ever received marks of honor; or if any one of high rank was accused on the barest rumor of having favored the faction of his enemy, he was loaded with chains and dragged about like a beast; . . . every one who was informed against or in any way called in question was condemned either to death or to confiscation of his property or to confinement in a desert island."¹ Still for all this reign of violence, the Romans of this period must not be placed on the same round of the ladder of civilization with the Scotchmen of the fourteenth century, the Corsicans of fifty years ago, or the early Californians. Strictly speaking a society is never retrogressive. Nations may and do decline, but the descent is always made on the other side of the hill. If we liken the course of advancing civilization to the tortuous path of a loop railroad up to the crest of a mountain, we may compare the movement in social decline to the course of a landslide down the further slope. If in respect of violence the England of Henry I. stood about on a level with fourth century Rome let us remember that the one society had the promise and potency of functions which the other had enjoyed and lost.

Again, the word *decadent* embraces the idea of movement. Hence it must be distinguished from *non-progressive*. In a decadent society, therefore, destruction of social bonds is taking place—the group is moving toward ruin. Between the decadent and the non-progressive types of society there

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, p. 12.

are similarities just as striking as those between the decadent and the primitive groups. A great caking of custom over social life, that pre-eminent characteristic of the non-progressive type, is often displayed in the decadent society. A strong conservative spirit governs affairs domestic and public. Love of the past, hatred of change, and satisfaction with the present condition are, moreover, common to both. But the non-progressive group can last indefinitely. Its civilization is arrested, its energies lie dormant. Yet it is holding its own, in spite of the fact that, compared with the progressive societies of its day, it may seem to be retrograding. It is only awaiting an impulse vigorous enough to start it from the rut in which it has lain for centuries. In the decadent society on the other hand, certain forces are at work dragging it ever further from a state of equilibrium. The group cannot continue as it is.

Modern China and modern Spain may be cited as instances of the above types. In both these countries authority and antiquity sway all things, investigation and innovation are not tolerated. But though China "is shrouded in etiquette like a mummy in its wrappings,"¹ Arthur Smith, the American missionary, says: "If the teaching of history as to what happens to the fittest is to be trusted, there is a magnificent future for the Chinese race." The self-preservative instincts of society dominate all the institutions and traditions of the Chinese. Regard for parents and ancestors and respect for peaceful industries are the controlling influences in their life. "No man is a hypocrite in his amusements," says Dr. Johnson. The play activity in human beings is spontaneous and indicates innate race qualities. This is certainly true in the case of the Chinese, whose favorite games, chess, flying kites, and fantan are an index of their peaceful character. We notice the absence of gladiatorial combats and duels in their scheme of pleasures and a detestation of all warlike achievements. The popular

¹ Taine, *The Ancient Régime*, p. 123.

proverb, "Good iron is not used for nails, nor are good men for soldiers," expresses their contempt for the military profession. The Chinaman's inborn respect for life is shown by the fact that life is seldom taken for political crime, and that human sacrifices have never been demanded by his religion. But patriotism and idealism are utterly lacking in his make-up, and until these two sentiments are supplied there will be little progress possible for him. As Dr. Patten says, "To insure continuous progress each race must receive from other races ideas not developed by its past conditions,"¹ and the Chinese must assimilate foreign ideas to such an extent that love of country and desire to work for ideals will become a part of national character. The Chinaman is essentially practical and utilitarian, and perhaps by appealing to his economic sense he may be taught the advantages of truth and co-operation; he may be led to take a broader view of things; he may be aroused to evince an interest in what is beyond his immediate environment. Then he will see that the system of political corruption, in the meshes of which China is held fast to-day, is alone responsible for her stagnation,—a system which from the lowest to the highest office, in both military and civil life, puts a premium on lying and discourages, nay, even punishes, honest endeavor. Offices are purchased and promotions in the army go to the highest bidder. There is a large number of unpaid employees in both the military and civil service. These men become parasites on the paid officers and the public at large. Chinese officials are skilled experts in the misappropriation of public funds and stores. Take a single instance. The Viceroy of the Course of the River, whose special duty it is to protect and keep in order the banks of the Yellow River, knowing that promotion is always conferred on the viceroy under whose administration the embankment is repaired, has so often caused floods to be produced by artificial means that the popular saying runs: "The best cure

¹ *The Development of English Thought*, p. 18.

for the Hwang-Ho and the best safeguard against floods, would be to behead all the officials and leave the river to itself." Moreover, much of the fund appropriated for the control of the flood finds its way into the private pocket of the viceroy. This universal system of corruption checks trade and enterprise. Boatmen have to pay such heavy duties to the police for plying that they soon cease to go abroad. All along the line at searching stations goods are examined, and unless a heavy bribe is paid they are destroyed. If a bottle of oil is found on which duty has been paid and the certificate mentions only *oil*, the merchant will be imprisoned on the charge of smuggling *glass* and released only on the payment of a heavy fine. Over ten years ago a company was formed in Canton for the establishment of water works, but the officials demanded such enormous bribes for granting the privilege that the scheme was abandoned. In the same way a fertilizer company, projected for the purpose of cleaning the streets of Canton and converting the refuse into manure, fell through.

There is, however, no doubt that China has turned in her sleep of ages and will soon arouse herself to action. The Reform party of China, including the best element of the Chinese race both at home and abroad—men who have been educated in European and American schools—is fully aware that the time for action is not far off. They realize intensely that under the present régime development is impossible—that the construction of railroads and the introduction of schemes for the development of China's internal resources, under the present system, would merely open up new avenues for corruption. Therefore their aim is the destruction of the government as it exists—which they consider a foreign institution brought by the Tartars—and the substitution of another native system. With the change in government must come the regeneration of the army. When the Chinese soldier feels confidence in his leaders and in his pay, the army will cease to be a "paper army," and will stand as an

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organized power for good in national development. General Gordon said of the Chinese soldier that "he was easily led, easily fed, and fearless of death." Is there any reason, then, why the Chinese army, properly fed and paid, should not become a creditable institution? The unprecedented duration of the Chinese nation in spite of its weak army and unexampled system of corruption—a system which really began when Muh (1000-947 B. C.) promulgated a penal code, under which punishment was made commutable into fines—is doubtless due to the sterling race character of the people. Their genius for association, their habit of mutual responsibility, their indefatigable industry, their respect for property and life, their temperance—all these qualities which have acted as preservative forces for the Chinese nation, when joined to the progressive, acquired characters of patriotism and idealism will be responsible for the great change for the better which must soon take place in China. But the Reformers must remember that this new China will not be born in a day; it will be the result of evolution rather than revolution, of slow adaptation owing to the inherent dislike of the race for innovation. Let the would-be reformer of China take warning from Kipling's "fool who tried to hustle the East."

With Spain, however, the case is quite the reverse. She is, without doubt, one of Lord Salisbury's "dying nations." Owing to widespread and inveterate ignorance, due entirely to the control of the people for centuries by the church, the Spanish race has deteriorated from an active, enterprising, independent people to the inert, servile race we know to-day. One needs but reflect upon the attitude of the Spanish people themselves—not the politicians—towards the late war with the United States and towards the peace negotiations, to realize the degeneracy of the race and nation. E. J. Dillon, in the September, 1898, number of the *Contemporary Review*, calls the Spaniards "an impoverished, resigned, and hopelessly lethargic population." Peace at any price was the cry

of the Spanish masses. War meant to them hunger and other species of physical suffering. So engrossed were they in the struggle for personal, vegetative life, so indifferent to everything not connected with their individual interests, that Mr. Dillon goes on to assert that they would not object even if the United States were to declare a protectorate over Spain. The territorial sacrifices, at the cost of which peace was being purchased, meant nothing to the masses. The talk of the politicians about "blots on the scutcheon" touched no responsive chord in the mind of the masses. National honor has no longer a place in the soul of the people. An article in the London *Daily Telegraph*, August 13, 1898, says: "How stands the case with Spain? Her disastrous defeats and the assured loss to her of her foreign possessions, both in the Eastern and Western hemispheres, have left the great body of her citizens absolutely unmoved. The devotee of the 'pundonor' does not feel his honor touched by being beaten to his knees in an international duel; the former mistress of the Indies suffers nothing in her imperial pride at the certain prospect of seeing one of the last remnants of her transatlantic empire wrested from her failing grasp. Large numbers of her common people seem ignorant of the very existence of the West and the East Indian possessions; while those who are aware of it regard them apparently as burdens of which Spain would be well rid. Anyhow it is a matter for politicians to wrangle over, and a sensible Spaniard, with plenty of bull fights to amuse him, will not trouble his head about any such irrelevant matters. The very sentiment of national pride is to all appearance extinct among the Spanish people at large, and with the extinction of national pride it is certain that national life, in the true sense of the word, must sooner or later cease to exist. . . . It (the nation) is dissolved into a fortuitous concourse of traders, pleasure seekers, idlers or what-nots, who acknowledge no other bond of union among themselves than such as each man's personal interests in the matter of business or

amusement have created and may temporarily sustain. Such a descent in the order of civilization points to the already realized degeneracy and presages the not remote extinction of the race of which so humiliating a story can be told."

Any consideration of the subject of social decay must bear in mind the important fact that social decadence is *not inevitable*. It is a disorder, not a decrepitude. We are all familiar with the theory that societies, like human beings, pass through the stages incident to human life. "The infancy of the Republic," "the youth of the nation," its "old age" are all trite expressions. But there is this important difference to be noted between the life of a group and that of the individuals composing it. Decay, so inevitable in human life, is by no means necessary in social life, because the continuity of society is psychical not physical. When a society has reached the stage of intelligent group consciousness there is no reason why it should not continue its existence for an indefinite period. There is no cause at all for thinking it must finally decay and die.

Again, social decadence must be distinguished from the fluctuations of vitality experienced by healthy as well as diseased societies. Just as there are variations in the physical condition of a healthy person, so sound societies have their periods of relaxation or depression. Allowance must accordingly be made for such a condition of relaxation, and care must be taken not to confound it with the state of actual disease for which we should reserve the word "decadent."

In view of the foregoing may not a decadent society be defined as *a society which is not capable of maintaining a former level of excellence in social products?*

Disease is defined by pathologists as a condition in which the functions of the organism are improperly discharged. Disease is recognized by its symptoms. Among human beings the symptoms of the same disease in different individuals while showing an essential resemblance will always

be modified and sometimes to a confusing degree by peculiarity of temperament. Much more in the history of nations the essential elements of decay will be influenced by racial peculiarities.

Yet the signs of decay in all degenerate societies are sufficiently law-abiding to admit of two well-marked types which may be called the *institutional* and the *individualistic*. In the one case degeneration is due to the overpowering growth of institutions—in the other to the extreme development of individualism. The one is marked by the crushing out of all individual effort, the excess of social control, the growth of institutions at the expense of the individual,—the other by the weakness of social control, the domination of the individual over institutions. Both of these types, starting though they do from opposite poles, eventually manifest the same symptoms of social decadence,—the loss of social ideals, the perversion of the social spirit, the loosening of the ties of sympathy which unite the great classes of the governors and the governed. Under institutional decadence society is burdened with institutions, customs, and traditions which have long outgrown their usefulness and have become calcareous deposits in the social body. Or there is an abnormal domination of one institution over others, as in the case of Spain, where the church controls all. In the last analysis we find the individual of the institutional type of the decadent group, a cringing, ignorant time-server, utterly lacking in independence and initiative, willing, nay, anxious to be led, his horizon bounded by his ego, his one aim self-preservation. Anarchy reigns supreme in the last stage of the individualistic type of decadence, however. Each man is a law unto himself. Institutions, customs, traditions, the preservative forces of society are utterly shattered. Too much license for the individual, ultra development of personality, extreme realization of the ego have done their work. Thus we see that the free play of individual effort, so necessary to progress, so indispensable

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a factor in civilization, defeats its own ends if allowed too wide a range, if not controlled by the group for whose development it is in so large a measure responsible.

An analysis of the phenomena accompanying social decadence—both institutional and individualistic—may be made through the study of Spain, which stands as a type of the first, and of Greece and Rome, which stand as types of the second.

Spain has been suffering from a mortal disease since the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century, indeed, presents an attempt at regeneration from without. But as the effort was fruitless there is little doubt that we to-day are witnessing the expiring gasps of the once proud mistress of the Indies.

The spirit of blind obedience to unquestioned authority, credulity, and superstition, the leading character traits of the Spaniard, were inculcated and fostered by the peculiar circumstances surrounding Spain's early struggles for civilization. What could eight centuries of religious wars do but develop religious fervor to the exclusion of all other passions? The Spaniards considered themselves soldiers of the cross and became accustomed to supernatural manifestations. "Their young men saw visions and their old men dreamed dreams." Poverty and ignorance, the necessary results of these long wars, served as aids in developing that absolute loyalty to king and priest which soon became the prominent characteristic of the Spanish people.

Therefore Spain was ready to take precedence among the nations in the sixteenth century, under the leadership of such strong, determined rulers as Charles V. and Philip II. The people, formed all in one mould, did the absolute bidding of the sovereign, who in turn worked for the church. A contemporary of Philip says: "The Spanish do not merely love, not merely reverence, but absolutely adore him (Philip) and deem his commands so sacred that they could not be violated without offence to God."

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Under these rulers religious wars were carried on successfully. The Reformation was crushed at home and retarded in Germany. Philip aimed at the empire of Europe, so that he might restore the authority of the church. It was the boast of his emissary Alva, in the Low Countries, that he had put to death in five or six years eighteen thousand persons besides those slain on the battlefield.

The feeling of contentment with their condition, pride in their old beliefs, contempt for innovation soon became fixed in national character. When this sentiment of satisfaction settled down upon the race the death knell of progress was sounded. This harmony of mind, evenness of thought, fettering of capacity was the result of centuries of church discipline. By expulsion, emigration, oppression or extermination of the original, progressive element of the nation the demand of the church that all should think alike was satisfied. But with what result? Thanks to the forced emigration of the Jews, the expulsion of the Moors and the Inquisition, the nation succeeded in getting rid of all original thinkers—of all the unlike, variant factors—hence the resulting population through generations of inheritance was moulded all in one form.

The glory of Spain was, therefore, short-lived, for a people accustomed to being led, as they were, would follow unhesitatingly any leader, the ignorant or foolish as readily as the wise or intelligent. Consequently there occurs a marked deterioration during the next three reigns. As the power of the throne weakens that of the church increases. Spain's decline may be said to begin with the disturbance in the balance of power in her institutions caused by the abnormal development of the church in the seventeenth century. At a time when the power of the ecclesiastics all over Europe was decaying the church tightens her grip on Spain. Laymen in great numbers enter the church. The highest as well as the lowest intellects are dominated by its influence. Cervantes three years before his death became a priest. Lope

de Vega was a priest and officer of the Inquisition. Sandoval, the historian and the authority for the reign of Charles V., was a Benedictine monk. Antonio, the most learned bibliographer Spain ever produced, was a canon of Seville. Zamora, the poet, was a monk, and Calderon, called the poet of the Inquisition, was chaplain to Philip IV.

Owing to church control the condition of Spain in the seventeenth century became truly pitiable. The strongest symptoms of decay were everywhere discernible. Even the upper classes were unacquainted with science or literature, and knew nothing of the commonest events of their own times out of their own country. Books, unless books of devotion, were considered worthless. No one collected them—no one consulted them. Until the eighteenth century Madrid did not possess a single public library. Duc de St. Simon, the French ambassador at Madrid (1721-22), sums up the state of education by saying that "in Spain science is a crime and ignorance a virtue." The military spirit was completely lost. Most of the troops deserted. The few who remained faithful were clothed in rags, received no food and little money. The navy, if possible, was in a worse state than the army. In 1656 it was proposed to fit out a small fleet, but the fisheries on the coast had so declined that it was impossible to procure sailors enough to man the ships required. Charts were lost, and the ignorance of the Spanish pilots became so notorious that no one would trust them. In the cities suffering and want produced the inevitable revolt from control. Madrid tradesmen organized into bands, broke open private houses, robbed and murdered in the face of day. In 1699 Stanhope, the British minister, writes that never a day passed in which people were not killed in the streets scuffling for bread. His own secretary had seen five women stifled to death by the crowd before a bakehouse.

All industries were now degenerate; the soil remained untilled, the arts were soon lost. Seville, which in the six-

teenth century had sixteen thousand looms, which employed three thousand persons, at the accession of Philip V., 1700, could not boast of three hundred. Toledo in the sixteenth century had fifty woolen manufactories—in 1665 it had only thirteen. And this story was repeated throughout the whole of Spain. There was also a marked decline in population during this miserable seventeenth century. Madrid, which at the beginning of the century had four hundred thousand inhabitants, at the end had but two hundred thousand.

A temporary relief at least, came to the wretched, disconsolate, poverty-stricken Spaniards during the next century. The improvement was, however, only superficial as all the reforms were introduced from without and did not spring up spontaneously from the people. In fact the Spaniards were then beyond the possibility of self-regeneration. The seeming success of Spain for a while was due to the fact that all her affairs were now in the hands of foreigners. National spirit there was none. Social ideals had long since vanished. There was such a dearth of capable men that in 1711 Bonnac mentions that a resolution had been formed to place no Spaniard at the head of affairs because those who had hitherto been employed had proved incapable or unfaithful. In the war of succession the Spanish troops were led by foreigners. The Duke of Berwick, an Englishman, became generalissimo of Spain. Finance was administered by Orry who was sent from France and who became the real minister of war. Alberoni, an Italian, and Ripperda, a Dutchman, were in time the most powerful men in Spain. Ripperda tried to reanimate Spanish industry. He established a large woolen manufactory at Segovia, once a busy city. The commonest processes had been forgotten by the Spaniards, so that he had to import workmen too. Charles III. invited thousands of workmen to settle in Spain hoping to invigorate the nation. By his personal power he brought Spain almost up to the first rank again, but since all his improvements were political and not national in origin the country collapsed

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at his death, and Charles IV., a pure Spaniard in thought, easily brought about the reaction against the artificial progress of the century. He restored the power of the clergy which had been somewhat lamed in the preceding reigns, and again darkness falls over all. The mind of Spain was gone. The Spaniards did not want to improve; they were satisfied with their inheritance; they were and still are unable to doubt. And this is the work of the church.

And now a short review of the history of the two nations which stand as types of the *individualistic* species of social decadence. The germ of Greece's decadence may be detected already in the time of Euripides. The most significant fact of the age is the growth of that individualism which if controlled leads onward and upward but which in Grecian history reached such an extreme development that it caused the decline of the nation. At first, realization of personality in all—others as well as self—leads to great progress in civilization. For a time it seems as though humanity were broadened. The great care for the individual manifests itself in an organized dispensary system in which the ablest physicians received fixed salaries from the state to care for the poor. Charity is enjoined. The poor have rights and dignities. Even women and slaves are not treated with contempt. "For even a slave," says Philemon, "is our flesh and blood; no one was ever born a slave by nature; fortune has but enslaved his body."

But after a while self-aggrandizement becomes the leading motive of conduct. Striving for power becomes the fashion of the day, and the jealousy, deceitfulness, and acuteness of intellect which this begets are the striking character traits in the prominent men of the age. The ego becomes the centre of interest and the intellect is cultivated at the expense of morals. Impatience with old customs and institutions is manifested so strongly that they rapidly decay. In this age of democracy, opinions change so frequently that the rising generations find themselves out of sympathy with their

fathers. Hence it is a common complaint in the literature of the day that old age is little respected. Sophocles in *Oedipus* speaks of old age as "feeble, unsociable, friendless, the constant object of reproach when all the woes of woes are the partners of our habitation." And Antiphanes exclaims: "Age is like wine; leave but a little in your vessel and it turns to vinegar." Too much respect for age, as in China, impedes progress, but utter disregard of the old in the end also defeats progress, for the undermining of tradition and the maiming of custom which naturally result from contempt of the old, seriously weaken the preservative forces of society. As a consequence of this we discover in the Greek life of the succeeding epoch the unmistakable symptoms of social decadence—disintegration of common bonds, sentiments, and spirit.

Evidence that the fatal germ of decay has already begun its work in the Euripidean age, is furnished by the literature of the day. Even in the tragedies of Euripides we discover that striving after effect and novelty, that desire to show the ingenuity of the author, and that extreme self-consciousness which are incontrovertible symptoms of decaying art. The chorus which was originally the medium for the expression of awe and reverence has become a mere instrument for the invention of melodies. These false principles dominate all literary effort. As the people care less and less for what is beyond and above themselves the poet disregards the canons of true art in order to please.

While the art of this period is great and can by no means be called decadent even in the epoch following, yet a change in the direction of its aim is to be noticed. Thought, actuated no more by the great social ideals of the Age of Pericles, expresses itself in art of a domestic character. Imitating the life around, art ceases to be public and religious. Religion is losing its hold upon the people. The Greek feels no more an instinctive faith in his gods. Unconsciously at least, his attitude toward the belief of his

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fathers is influenced by his private judgment. Hence the expression of that faith in temples ceases to be the goal of art.

In the next epoch, or that of decadence proper, the ego is the all-absorbing thought ; faith of all kinds is gone—faith in one's self, faith in others, faith in the destiny of the nation. Hence the aim of conduct is how to get the most out of the short space of years allotted to the individual. His comfort is the first consideration. Teachers, influenced no more by social ideals, abandon public life and make private life the object of study and precept. The Greek's former high sense of honor and keen love of liberty are gone. Hence he pays to have his land defended. Mercenaries constitute the army. "How much better it is to be under a good master than to live in poverty and be free," exclaims Menander. And again, "He who fights and runs away, will live to fight another day." Politics were abandoned by the best classes. The talented retired to schools of philosophy. Discussions flourished as actions ceased. The Greek religion of this period has no real meaning. It is full of ceremonies and foreign gods. In literature the desire to startle which was detected in the preceding epoch is now carried so far that in the *Cassandra* of Lycophron of Alexandria there is a riddle in every line. Illustrations are given for their own sake, not for the purpose of making clear a point. Literature steps beyond its proper sphere and encroaches upon the domain of painting. With the exception of the poems of Theocritus who goes to the country for his themes (an innovation), and the epigrams, there is nothing original in the literature of the period.

The art of the period follows the bent it had already taken in the preceding age, becoming more and more domestic and less and less public and religious. Though no great monuments or temples are erected, house architecture continues to develop. The sphere of art is narrowed to suit the tastes of

the day. But still it is a great art. Who could impugn an art which produced a Venus de Medici, a Farnesian Bull or a Laocoön?

Now what conclusion can be drawn from this rapid survey of Grecian decadence? Was not ultra development of individualism responsible for that dwindling of social pride, that fading of a common faith and vanishing of ideals, that treatment of the present as the all-engrossing time, that adoption of personal comfort and luxury as the end of living, that substitution of theorists for men of action which led to the ultimate decline of the nation whose culture the world has never been able to surpass?

What now is the story of Rome? "The ancient Roman," says Mommsen, "felt the glory and might of the community as a personal possession to be transmitted to posterity by every individual." This collective sense of pride held the state together. When the Roman citizen lost it Rome became degenerate. In the time of Cato the Elder occur the first symptoms of decay in the peculiar institutions, traditions, and customs of the Romans. Foreign ideals are beginning to sway conduct and life, and Roman religious identity soon loses itself through the rapid assimilation of strange cults. Greek fancies and customs are eagerly adopted, among them drinking the health, or "playing the Greek" as it was called. Indeed, the Romans are soon playing the Greek in all concerns of life both domestic and public. The imitative capacity of the Roman soon leads to a cosmopolitanism which results ultimately in the loss of patriotism, the disappearance of national feeling and the growth of an extreme individualism, which here, as in the case of Greece, proves the nation's bane. At this time religion has already become ossified into theology. The native gods and observances have been supplanted or modified by foreign cults. The cultured cease to believe in the old gods and the government uses the national religion as a superstition for imposing upon the public

at large. Corruption enters politics and administration too, at this time. The following instance illustrates the degeneration into which the old customs had fallen: From early times it had been the custom to dismiss a political gathering if a thunderstorm arose. Now, a law was enacted by which a popular assembly was to be dismissed if it should occur to a high magistrate to merely look up at the sky for the approach of a storm. In this way it was possible to prevent the passage of any law, and the power of the officials thus became immeasurable.

This state of things continued to increase until the period marked by the striving for one-man power is reached—the time of Catiline, Pompey, Cicero and Caesar. The old pride of the Roman in his state is now almost gone. Selfish aims dominate politics. The great men of the day are as individualistic as the Greeks ever were. Social ideals are supplanted by selfish ones; the bonds uniting the citizens of Rome as Romans are much weakened.

Then comes the story of the empire. Under the emperors the taste for luxury, fostered by Augustus, grows until it reaches its climax during the reign of Nero. As the Roman became more and more cosmopolitan, he became more and more lax. Pleasure grew to be the main business of life. The number of national games and festivals was greatly increased. Gladiatorial combats in which human blood was shed became the chief amusement. Trade with the East was increased for the sake of indulgence in personal luxury. The great revolution in manners and life produced an economic revolution. Residence in the city was now more desired. As the people flocked in from the country rents rose. In consequence of the overcrowding of the towns a large unemployed class arose. Therefore many took to plundering, cheating, usurious trading in money. Dice playing had to be checked by legislature. When we contemplate the extent to which vice and luxury were spread abroad, we are astonished that the empire endured as it

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did, and most of all that it had vitality enough left to recover somewhat from the depths into which it was plunged by Nero.

But such was its vigor that a period of what Gibbon calls "general felicity" follows. During the eight reigns extending over one hundred and ten years, from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius, prosperity did seem to smile once again on Rome. The people, profiting by the experience of the early empire abandoned luxurious living. Frugal manners and habits were approved at court. Vespasian once rebuked a candidate for office who entered his ante-chamber highly perfumed, saying: "I had rather you had smelt of garlic." Wealth was no longer the highest object of desire. Learning was encouraged. But in spite of these facts the period was, after all, but an effort at recuperation. No permanent good resulted from it. The Romans were too far along the road to ruin to be called back. For even in this period of temporary brightness the religion, literature, and art show unmistakable signs of decay. The fear of the barbarians and the horror of plagues and famine led the people to resort to ancient religious ceremonies. The renewed faith in dreams and astrology, partly due to the reaction against the skepticism of the first century, restored the oracle to his sometime post of honor. New shrines to the deities of earth, air and water were erected. Sacrificial worship was instituted for the gods supposed to have an influence over health. As a consequence of this renewal of old customs which the intellect of the race had outgrown, pretenders of all sorts arose. Thus religion was characterized by fanaticism on the one hand and by insincerity on the other.

In art the aim was not beauty but novel effects. All was sacrificed to this idea. Hence the erection of such buildings as the temple of Hadrian in Ajzicus, Bithynia is a sign of the times. This temple was of such gigantic proportions that Aristides in his dedicating speech says: "Your city is the only one which does not need lighthouses or high towers

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to guide mariners to its harbor. The temple fills, as it were, the whole horizon and marks the situation of the city. Every block of marble is as a complete temple." The use of stucco work instead of stone for decoration, and brick and cheap materials in parts not intended to be seen, are other proofs of the insincerity of their art. The sculptor, too, strove to make an impression and stamped with self-consciousness all his work. Realism is attempted in portrait statues clothed as in real life. The sphere of one art encroaches upon that of another. This is seen in the bas-reliefs, which appropriate principles both of sculpture and painting.

In literature, from the time of Augustus to that of Marcus Aurelius, the individualistic tendency is noticed. As in the corresponding period in Grecian history, all canons of art are subordinated to the effort to please and astonish. Applause of his contemporaries was the author's goal. Hence the literature of the day is marked by lawlessness in the choice of subjects, violence of expression, mannerisms of all kinds. We do hear a protest against this sort of thing from Quintilian. He was, however, out of sympathy with his times and so his protest was in vain. "Almost all our speech is metaphor," he says. The antique, the remote, the unexpected was the fashion. Satire and epigram were the characteristic form of literary production. Seneca, Statius and Martial were all time-servers. Juvenal, however, paints the social vices of his age, and Lucian ridicules the superstition of the people.

After the death of Marcus Aurelius the decay of the Romans went steadily on without conscious effort at recoil until it culminated in the fall of Rome. Loss of national identity, resulting in intense individualism, is the feature of this last stage of Roman decadence. Indeed Rome became the rendezvous for adventurers from all over the world. It was dangerous to venture abroad in the streets even in the daytime, so full were they of desperate characters. Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of the fourth

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century, says: "But of the lower and most indigent class of the populace some spend the whole night in the wine shops. Some lie concealed in shady arcades of the theatres . . . or else they play at dice so eagerly as to quarrel over them; or (and this is a favorite pursuit of all others) from sunrise to evening they stay gaping through sunshine or rain, examining in the most careful manner the most sterling good or bad qualities of the charioteers and horses."¹ The rabble of the capital, accustomed to being fed by despotic rulers, cried "Give us bread for nothing and games forever." Even in the age of Trajan Juvenal made one of his characters say: "I cannot bear this Greek city. But the Greeks are not the worst feature, for the Syrian Orontes has long since emptied itself into the Tiber."

Among the signs of the times are the withdrawal of gold and silver from circulation, the unequal distribution of wealth, the rapid depopulation of the empire, the frequency of fires, famines, and epidemics, the degeneracy of the soldier class, the loss of respect for learning, and the substitution of frivolous amusements for the more dignified ones of early days. Says Ammianus Marcellinus: "Those few houses which were formerly celebrated for the serious cultivation of becoming studies are now filled with the ridiculous amusements of torpid indolence, re-echoing with the sound of vocal music and the tinkle of flutes and lyres. Lastly, instead of a philosopher we find a singer; instead of an orator some teacher of the ridiculous arts is summoned, and the libraries are closed forever like so many graves; organs to be played by water power are made, and lyres of so vast a size that they look like wagons; and flutes and ponderous machines suited for the exhibitions of actors."² The Roman had at this time utterly lost his personal pride in the glory of the community and his doom was sealed.

From the foregoing review of these two ancient civilizations it is evident that excessive individualism caused their

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, p. 21.

² Ammianus Marcellinus, p. 19.

decay. In Greece the analytical turn of mind led to extreme individualism, while in Rome the Roman's imitativeness led to the loss of national character and the consequent growth of individualism. In both cases the rise of individualism, while beneficial at first, proved fatal because it was not controlled and moderated by the group. When individualism fosters the consciousness of one's self to the exclusion of group consciousness it becomes destructive, for in societies an exaggerated self-consciousness of the unit is destructive, group consciousness is preservative. The only individualism which can exist permanently in a progressive society is that which is controlled by group consciousness, that in which the individual personality is brought to completeness and freedom under control of group ideals. This is the lesson the ancients failed to master in their struggle for world power. Are we moderns any wiser? Dr. Lester F. Ward says: "As yet only the individual is rational. The way to counteract the evil effects of mind operating in the individual is to infuse a larger share of the same mind element into the controlling power of society. Such a powerful weapon as reason is unsafe in the hands of one individual when wielded against another. It is still more dangerous in the hands of corporations, which proverbially have no souls. It is most baneful of all in the hands of compound corporations, which seek to control the wealth of the world. It is only safe when employed by the social ego emanating from the collective brain of society and directed toward securing the common interests of the social organism."¹

To sum up. A healthy social life, which consists in the maximum of individual freedom, enterprise and ambition, coupled with a hearty and generous cherishing of common or group interests and concerns, must be steered between Scylla and Charybdis. The one danger is *institutional decadence*, due to a dying out of energy, enterprise, and power of co-operation by reason of an overgrowth of traditions and

¹ The Psychic Factors of Civilization, p. 276.

institutions which fetter the individual without serving group interests. The other danger is *individualistic decadence*, due to the suffering of all common or group interests by reason of the dissolution of common faiths, ideals, and undertakings and the hypertrophy of private consciousness, private feelings, and private aims. Strange as it may seem, the final stage of each disease is the same. Toward the end of either type of decadence we have people who are egoistic without being strong in individual character, selfish without being ambitious, unscrupulous without being enterprising, depending on one another, yet without the capacity of co-operation, sociable yet powerless for effective association, too indifferent for great corporate achievements, yet too feeble for splendid individual achievements.

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COMMUNICATIONS.

COMPULSORY VOTING IN BELGIUM.

With the institution of the plural vote and the compulsory vote, established in 1893, and of proportional representation, adopted in 1899, the system of a practically universal suffrage as applied in the little kingdom of Belgium has reached a standard of intelligent organization as yet unequaled in any other country. The principles of the whole organization which is more intricate in its appearance than in reality, the operation of the system and its justification alike from a theoretical point of view and from its practical results are fully discussed in the very learned, concise and clear study recently published by Professor Léon Dupriez.¹

The plural vote, which gives supplementary voting power to the better qualified members of the community, such as the heads of families, landowners, government bondholders and people of education, was adopted contemporaneously with a constitutional revision which had for its principal object a more than ten-fold extension of the franchise which would make the suffrage nearly if not quite universal. The danger attending the latter change was that the more responsible and sounder classes of the community, irrespective of social standing, might be swamped, electorally at least, by the sudden rush of radical, socialist, and collectivist voters, especially in the thickly populated industrial areas and in the large cities of the country. Plural voting was thus intended as a careful counterpoise, and not as a check to democratic reforms; and statistics show clearly that it has worked as a balancing-pole or ballast to public opinion, not to impede its progress, but to steady its movements and make them less hazardous, less fitful and less dangerous to the welfare of the country.

Proportional representation was voted several years later, after a long and painful struggle against various sections of opinion. Some opposed it as they had opposed universal suffrage and plural voting, because they distrusted all political novelties. Others opposed it because they felt that an equitable distribution of political power amongst parties would inevitably lessen their power or do away altogether with seats traditionally held by themselves or by their friends in particular constituencies. The reform, however, went through,

¹ *L'organisation du Suffrage Universel en Belgique; Vote Plural; Vote Obligatoire; Représentation Proportionnelle.* By LÉON DUPRIEZ, Professor at the University of Louvain. Pp. 260. Price, 3.50 francs. Paris: Larose, 1901.

and, so far as a first experiment enables one to judge of its effects, it is undoubtedly a success; it has strengthened the party organization, it has greatly diminished the bitterness of political campaigns and it has raised the parliamentary standard. Together with the plural vote, proportional representation may be taken as the crowning feature in the organization of a very democratic franchise, and the political and social condition of Belgium rendered the adoption of these advanced reforms as imperative as they have proved beneficial. Not so, however, with countries in a different stage of political development. The plural vote would certainly be looked upon as a step backwards wherever the franchise has already been made general, and a proposal to establish it would surely be opposed as giving unjustifiable privilege to some classes of voters. Proportional representation on the other hand, is not an urgent need in countries where public opinion is almost evenly divided between two great parties who come into power alternately, nor in countries where the theory generally prevails that to the victor belong the spoils and that the defeated party has no right to complain because it is left out in the cold, waiting for its turn to break into the house triumphantly, while the others revel inside.

But the compulsory vote appears to the student of political science as the *alpha* of electoral organization. The greatest evil in a democracy is the indifference of its best people towards public business, and the worst form of that indifference is electoral abstention, because it leaves the government of the country and the power of the legislature completely in the hands of the professional politician and his disreputable supporters. Now it is a fact that unless the quieter people are made to vote, by some artificial machinery, it is very hard to bring them to the polls in the necessary large numbers, even where party organization is strong and when a vital question is at stake. Statistics show that in countries such as England, the United States, Belgium and Switzerland, where the natural organization of political life is far ahead of the rest of the world, abstentions still range from 14 to 30 or 40 per cent of the electoral body. Before 1893 in Belgium 16 per cent of the voters used to stay away, notwithstanding the exertions of the party leaders. After the adoption of the compulsory vote the average rate of abstention fell suddenly to between 4 and 5 per cent and it is sure to decrease still more owing to the increased chance of success that proportional representation gives to all parties interested in the political struggle. This small rate of abstention does not even represent the real number of voters who might have voted and did not attend the polls. This is because, first, a certain percentage of voters on the register are dead when the elections come round, and

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second, some more are prevented from attending through illness, age or absence from the country. The records of the police courts, where the cases of non-attendance are tried, show that out of a total of 1,058,165 voters called to the polls in 1898, 5,551 failed to attend without giving previous notice of the reason to the courts and were prosecuted; 2,621 of these, however, were excused by the magistrate on legal grounds such as illness, age or absence. This leaves 2,930 who were fined, which represents a rate of unexcusable or guilty abstention of not quite 3 per cent of the electoral body, or exactly 2.76 out of every thousand. How was this wonderful success achieved?

The theoretical question whether the suffrage may be rendered compulsory by statute would scarcely have been raised in parliament, but for the personal antagonism of a few prominent members to the then prime minister and head of the conservative party, Mr. Burnaert. This difficulty, however, was easily put aside, since the franchise has generally ceased to be looked upon purely as a right which a citizen is at liberty to make use of or to neglect, and is on the contrary regarded as a civic duty, which he is bound to perform scrupulously in the interests of the community for which every citizen is a trustee in a general way.

The main objection of most political thinkers to the compulsory vote is the practical difficulty of enforcing the obligation efficiently. Obviously public opinion would not brook severe penalties such as a heavy fine or a term of imprisonment for an infringement of duty slight in itself and which becomes prejudicial only when it becomes customary and involves a large section of the electoral body. And if the penalty is but light, who will be afraid to incur it, if one derives more profit from attending to one's business or one's pleasure than from voting? The answer to the problem was found in a particular kind of penalties at once light but such as are not risked lightly by responsible citizens, ranging from a mere warning in the case of first offenders, to a small fine of 25 francs and the suspension of political rights for a period of ten years in the case of obdurate offenders. This suspension precludes the offender from being, during that term, a candidate for any office or promotion whatsoever in the public service, and from public honors and deprives him of his franchise for the same time. To some it looked ridiculous to punish a man by taking from him a right precisely because he did not care to exercise it. But it is one thing to wilfully neglect a privilege under certain uninteresting circumstances, and another to be deprived of it altogether for ten years. The facts, as shown by statistics, fully bore out the soundness of the confidence which the framers of the revised constitution of 1893 had put in the compulsory vote. Its immediate success might perhaps not be

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quite so great in some other countries, because, as we know, abstentions were never very common in Belgium, owing to the keenness of political struggles, the organization of parties and the high standard of political education of the people. But, there is every reason to think that, everywhere the obligation would breed the custom of attendance and that this in turn would awaken a new interest in political campaigns. If democracy is to redeem its magnificent pledges to the people, as we fondly hope, it can only do so by the co-operation of the more honest, the more responsible, in a word, the better citizens of the country, and this must be secured at any cost, either voluntarily by education—and history shows that mere education, example and persuasion are not always a match for the scheming professional politicians and the machine bosses—or by the compulsory vote.

A. NERINCKX.

Brussels.

THE IMPORTATION OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

In recent years there has been a growing hostility toward the practice which has long prevailed of sending dependent children outside the borders of the state in which they become dependent to place them in foster homes. This sentiment is rapidly crystallizing in laws either forbidding the practice or restricting it. The following study was made in the hope of getting at the facts in the case and in the further hope that some of the principles which should apply might appear. To this end letters were sent to persons throughout the states involved who were in positions to know local conditions and local sentiment.

The legislation now in existence, so far as can be learned, is as follows:

In 1895 Michigan (Act No. 33, Public Acts, 1895; App. Mar. 26, 1895) passed a law requiring all associations or individuals wishing to place a child from without the state in a home within the state to file a bond of \$1,000, before the judge of probate of the county in which the child is to be placed; that such child shall not become a town, county or state charge before it shall have reached the age of twenty-one. In case the child becomes dependent the bond is forfeited and placed in the general fund of the state treasurer. "Any person who shall take such child indentured, apprenticed, adopted or otherwise disposed of, to him or her, except in the manner herein provided, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor."

Minnesota in 1899 (Chapter 138—S. F., No. 244, App. Apr. 17, 1899) required associations bringing in children to file an indemnity bond

of \$1,000, conditioned as follows: That they will not bring in any child that is incorrigible or unsound in mind or body; that they will remove any child which becomes a public ward within three years; that they will maintain a supervision of the children placed out, visiting them at least once a year; that they will make such reports to the State Board of Charities and Corrections as that body may require. The state board mentioned has charge of this work, and may make additional regulations.

Indiana, in an act approved February 13, 1899, forbide any association or individual, including residents of the state, to bring in children without first obtaining the written consent of the Board of State Charities, conforming to its rules and filing an indemnity bond of \$10,000, that said child shall not become a public charge, and agreeing to remove the child on thirty days' notice from the board, with a forfeit of \$1,000 if the child is not removed. Relatives are exempt from the provisions of the act. Violation of the act is a misdemeanor.

Illinois (Senate No. 269, sec. 17, App. April 22, 1899) enacted that no association incorporated under the laws of any other state shall place a child in a family home, within the borders of the state, unless said association shall have furnished the State Commissioners of Public Charities with such guarantee as they may require; that no child shall be brought in having any contagious or incurable disease, or having any deformity, or being of feeble mind, or of vicious character; and that said association will remove any child that becomes a public charge within five years. Any person placing a child in violation of this act shall be imprisoned in the county jail not more than thirty days or fined not less than \$5.00 or more than \$100, or both.

Kansas (March, 1901), Missouri (March, 1901) and Pennsylvania (1901) copied the Illinois act.

In addition there is an active agitation for restrictive laws in Iowa, Wisconsin, Nebraska and the Dakotas. A similar section in a bill in Ohio failed of adoption because of opposition to other features of the bill.

From the answers to the inquiry it appears that the opposition to the practice of importing children is wide-spread. The testimony is practically unanimous that the starting point of this opposition was the poor work of the pioneer organizations in this line in their earlier years. Children were dumped by the carload till at length an outcry was made. The present opposition seems to be based on three points: (1) It is generally believed that children placed by outside societies are not so carefully placed nor supervised as is for their interest, and

that frequently this lack of supervision amounts to gross neglect and opens the way for great abuse. (2) Through this neglect and, sometimes, because of the undesirable character of the children imported, they become in many cases wards of the new state, and must be supported at public expense if not cared for by private charity. (3) The importation of children tends to hinder the work of finding good homes for the dependent children of the state, particularly when those imported do not do well, as this causes many who are perhaps thinking of taking a child to decide in the negative.

In regard to the first point there is no question that many organizations, even to-day, place children without careful investigation of the proffered homes, sometimes without any investigation, and then neglect the children after they are placed. These organizations are not confined to any one locality, but are to be found in many states. The chief offenders are commonly supposed to be in New York and Chicago.

A few cases may be cited to show the justice of the complaints. It is to be remembered that these are recent complaints. "I learned of a seven-year-old girl who was not allowed to come into the house to eat or sleep, and who, when the weather was cold, crawled in with the pigs to sleep, and who went so nearly naked that quite a coat of hair developed over her body. As a punishment they made her kneel with bare knees on a dust-pan of gravel, and hold up an iron sledge with which they drove fence posts. It was hard to get the child to sleep on a bed, for she had never known one." "Another boy was taken by a Mr. ———. His teacher missed him from school a few days, and when he came one eye was swelled shut and his face bruised. Teacher asked him how he got hurt and he was afraid to tell, but gaining his confidence he told her that Mr. ——— struck him, knocking him senseless, and he lay on the floor for some time and was not able to come to school for several days." Eye-witnesses have told a friend of the writer that a number of little children sent to certain foreigners in Wisconsin already tagged with the names of their new parents were the cause of free fights on the platform when certain families were displeased with the children allotted to them. About a year ago a child was taken from a gang of professional thieves at Cincinnati by the court. She had been placed in the family of the leader by a certain large institution. An experienced worker writes: "Probably seventy-five cases of misplacement have come under my notice within the past five years. In one town of three thousand people notice had been given that a car with boys would be in from New York at a certain hour, and families were asked to be on hand and take the children. Old residents told me

that twenty-three families came to take boys, *not one-half of whom were fit to care for any child.*" Residents of a little town in Texas told a friend of mine within a month that five or six of a company of boys placed near there had drifted away from the homes selected within a couple of weeks.

That the second charge is not without foundation is also capable of proof. "I took a child a week ago said to have been sent in from Illinois a year before, also two, a month ago, from Missouri. From a carload lot one was in a charitable institution within two weeks of arrival." "A few years ago the ——— institution sent out a degenerate who gradually grew worse till it became necessary to send him to an institution. The county commissioners wrote to the institution asking them to take him back, but they refused and employed an attorney to watch the case and notify them if he were sent to ———. This the commissioners did, but were met at the depot by an agent, who threatened arrest if he attempted to abandon the boy, as he had acquired a residence in South Dakota. The result was that he was brought back and the county will have to pay the institution he is in sixteen dollars a month as long as he lives." Of two boys in another state it is reported: "The older one ran away and eventually came before the county judge to be sent to the reform school." In another state a correspondent says: "We have some of them in the reform school and some in the penitentiary."

The third objection may be stated in two ways. Some claim that there are only so many homes into which children may go and that if outsiders take these homes there will be just so many less for the children of the state. To the writer this point is not well taken. The number of homes open to children is not fixed but variable. If the children placed in a locality do well many other homes are opened because of this fact. If the children do poorly the reverse is true. It frequently happens, too, that people prefer children coming from a distance, as there is less likelihood of interference from relatives and busybodies. If very large numbers of children were placed in one locality the objection would have more force. The fact that it is still possible to find homes for the dependent children of the state in Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa refutes the objection, for these are the states in which large numbers of Eastern children have been placed. It must be granted, however, that children might be imported in overwhelming numbers.

The second form of this third objection is more valid. It is said that the poor placing and the lack of supervision often bring the placing-out method into disrepute and make it harder to get good homes for the dependent children of the state. This is the com-

mon experience of all home-finding societies and needs no other proof.

The weight of these arguments being admitted, the practical problem confronts us as to the proper attitude toward the subject. Our discussion may practically be confined to agencies outside of the state, as it will seldom happen that local agencies import children. The home supply keeps them busy. Two courses are possible: (1) The practice may be forbidden or such onerous restrictions imposed as to practically prohibit it; (2) a certain standard of excellence may be established and outside organizations compelled to do their work in accordance therewith.

Indiana and Michigan have taken the former course. Few organizations will file a \$10,000 bond as required in Indiana (as a matter of fact none has done so), nor will any organization file a \$1,000 bond for each child as required in Michigan. Really, then, the importation of any children by outside agencies (or home agencies) is stopped unless the law is disregarded. Nor will many residents of the state obey such laws. The authorities in the states mentioned profess great satisfaction with the results. It unquestionably stops importation in carload lots and in so far is good. The writer happens to know, however, that persons resident within these states are constantly going outside the borders of the state and taking children back with them in entire disregard of the provisions of the law.

The other states have taken the latter course. Minnesota, for instance, requires fifteen days' notice prior to the time when the child is to be placed. Such notice must show the names of the foster-parents, their residence, the full name of the child, date and place of birth, physical history and the present physical, mental and moral conditions; the facts relating to the history of its parents; when, where and how the child was received, etc. Not more than twenty-five children are to be received in any one quarter. The organization placing the child must visit it yearly. The New York Foundling Asylum and the Minnesota Children's Home Society have filed bonds as required by the law. In Illinois, to cite one institution, the New York Juvenile Asylum is limited to ten children per month, and these must not have been committed to the institution for crime.

It seems to me that the tendency to draw state lines in child-saving work is very unfortunate and ill-advised. I agree with him who writes: "A free-born American child, healthy in every particular, ought to be welcome in every state in the Union, provided it has, or is offered, a home free from immoral influences." It will be generally admitted that it is not right to dump on other communities the defective and diseased, including the morally imbecile. These may

be left out of consideration. The real point in the present discussion is not whether the children from Cincinnati should be placed in Ohio rather than across the river in Kentucky, etc., but whether the children are to be placed in the best homes offered where they shall be trained for useful citizenship. The question is far broader than a state question, be the state large or small. It is ultimately the welfare of the nation which is under discussion. If this is true the welfare of the children of New York City is just as important to the residents of Indiana as is the welfare of those much nearer the state house at Indianapolis.

At the same time it will be granted, as a rule, it is better that the wards of any society should be placed as near the central office as is practicable. It will be easier to judge of the fitness of the homes and easier, as well as cheaper, to supervise them and to replace them when necessary. This last is important, for, probably, at least one-third of the children placed in foster homes are replaced once or more before they come to self-support. Again, the fact that most of the work is done at home will tend to make the institution careful in its methods, as those who support the organization will quickly learn of improper work and be influenced thereby. When the evil results are at a distance they do not come home with the same force. This, however, is not the same as saying that state lines should be the final boundaries. Various organizations of Massachusetts are placing their wards in surrounding states without evil results so far as I am able to learn. The Cincinnati Children's Home and the House of Refuge can much better care for their wards across the river in Kentucky than were these same children in Northern Ohio. An impartial and well-informed observer, Mr. J. J. Kelso, of Toronto, writes: "It seems to me that the various states are rather severe on each other in prohibiting the exchange of children from one state to another. Some of the legislation that has been passed is too drastic and practically means prohibition." It is interesting to note his statement regarding the importation of English children into Canada. "Some four years ago legislation was introduced in this province regulating the importation from Great Britain. This was owing to the popular impression that an undesirable class was being brought out. There is still a good deal of feeling on this subject, but my own impression is that the work is not detrimental, but is a decided help both to the children and the country."

It should not be forgotten that the evils mentioned are not confined to the work of foreign societies. Every objection urged against their careless work applies with equal force to the common methods of placing out children by home agencies. It is not at all difficult to

find certain classes of institutions which place out a good many children from one year to another who never attempt any supervision of the children placed and make but little, if any, preliminary investigation. Many an instance of gross neglect could be cited where the child in question had been placed within five miles of the home office. Children of the state are no less subject to abuse than children from without the state. The native children are to be found in jails and reformatories in no small numbers. The matter of fact is that the placing-out work of the country at large has not been done as carefully as could be desired, nor has the supervision been such as commends itself to-day. Much of this was inevitable, but it should not be overlooked in discussing the importation of children. I do not know of an organization in the Middle or Western States which visits all of its wards who are out in homes at least once a year, though some of the state agencies come somewhere near this. These things being so, it will not do to put too much odium on the foreign society.

There would seem to be more reason for the attempt to exclude children, usually boys, who have been committed to an institution for some offence. I question, however, even the wisdom of this in most cases. To begin with, the writ of commitment in a given case is by no means a sure indication of the real trouble. I have been told of a Wisconsin law that children committed to a certain institution for incorrigibility were to be supported at the expense of the county from which they came, while if the commitments were on the ground of petty larceny the expense was borne by the state. Commitments for incorrigibility are said to be almost unheard of. I have known a young man sent to a reformatory for walking on the railroad track, though the real cause of the commitment was that he was suspected of petty thieving. I have known boys of less than twelve years sent to a city reformatory who had merely been truant from school. If the penology of to-day stands for anything it is that such boys should be given a chance under proper conditions and away from the old environments. The experience of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society indicates that such a course with careful supervision of the boys leads to good results. Why then should we draw a line between the states and say that such a boy shall not cross this line to enter some good family ready to receive him? There is a need for common sense in dealing with boys of this class. To take a boy of fourteen to sixteen from one of the old style institutions, or new style, and place him in the first shop or on the first farm offered and then leave him without oversight is to invite trouble. This will be true whether the new home is within or without the state. Many such boys are placed out from Massachusetts, and complaints are few, but the work

is not done in the hit or miss fashion. In a word, the point of attack with regard to this phase of the question, recognizing that the complaints are often well founded, is not the child's previous record nor his previous home, but the method under which he is placed in a new environment and the means taken to adjust him to this change.

It being granted, then, that dependent children of all states are usually of the same species; that it is to the interest of the entire country that they be placed in the best possible homes, usually away from the old environment; that, if this is done, the chances are that self-supporting and self-respecting men and women will be developed; the writer must confess that he sees no necessity for legislation specially directed against those who become dependent outside of any particular state. If the Indiana plan is to prevail, interstate comity would seem to require that Indiana enact a law forbidding the placing of its dependent children outside of the borders of the state. I do not remember to have heard this advocated. Instead of attempting to hinder the bringing in of children it seems to me that the point of our efforts should be to guarantee that good homes should be selected and proper supervision exercised for all children who are placed out in foster homes by all the agencies. This means state inspection and supervision of the work of local agencies. Indiana has taken a long step in this direction by requiring the placing out organizations to report to the State Board of Charities and in having the foster homes visited by an agent of this body. This means that an agent of the state is given an opportunity to learn at first hand the character of the work being done by home agencies. Some such method as this under a board of charities or a state board of children's guardians, the board being given large discretion, should furnish a reasonable guarantee that all the children were properly cared for. It seems to me, then, that the proper method of procedure is to establish a certain standard of excellence and to bring the work of all agencies up to this standard. I am heartily in favor of wise regulation of the placing out work, but I am not in sympathy with the spirit which would close good homes to needy children.

It is to be admitted that there will be failures no matter what the system. Boys and girls brought into Illinois sometimes do badly, but that is no reason for keeping out others who may do well. The ability to place children in other states has frequently been of great value. The Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society has often turned over some of its children to organizations in other states, these other organizations assuming the control and responsibility, with splendid results. One cause of the feeling of general antagonism to outside agencies has been the great development of placing out work

in the states under discussion. This has sometimes led to a narrow-minded view of the general situation. This short-sighted prejudice against outside agencies coupled with righteous indignation against the bad work of many of them has produced the opposition. It is to be hoped that the more liberal legislation will prevail. Another fact, which throws a side light upon the general question, is that from the neighboring states, say Michigan, go more unmarried mothers to be delivered, to have the children and often themselves cared for by the charitable agencies of Chicago, than there are children placed by all the agencies of Illinois in Michigan during the same period. The world is too small for glass houses.

A final point of the greatest importance is the question as to how much of the attempt to regulate the importation of children, that is, the attempt to draw artificial boundaries over which certain classes of normal people may not pass nor be passed, is constitutional. There are those who do not hesitate to declare that certain provisions of the Indiana law, for instance, are unconstitutional. This is a point which the courts must determine and one which I am not competent to discuss, but it has a vital bearing on the question. In this connection see *Charities Review*, April, 1901, p. 279.

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**BANKING AMONG THE POOR: THE LIGHTHOUSE SAVINGS FUND
EXPERIMENT.**

The principal reason why the poor do not save is undoubtedly that they have so little to spend. At the same time, the experience of the Lighthouse Savings Fund of Philadelphia demonstrates that another important reason is the lack of savings agencies in which the poor have confidence. The above institution was opened in June, 1900, in a crowded manufacturing district in Kensington, and is the outgrowth of a "stamp centre" of the Theodore Starr Savings Bank conducted for several years in the same locality. Its success has been truly remarkable. The balance-sheet showed about \$7,000 in deposits at the end of the first month. At the end of nine months this figure had risen to nearly \$17,000. And this growth has interfered but little with the prosperity of commercial savings institutions in the same vicinity. It is to be explained principally by the personal confidence which people in the neighborhood have in Miss Kelly, one of the organizers of the Savings Fund. The importance of this factor was illustrated when the business was moved to its present site, at the corner of Lehigh Avenue and Mascher Street, and a run was only

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averted by assuring anxious depositors that it was still "Miss Kelly's bank." On the other hand, many of the mill-workers of the district have refused to have anything to do with a neighboring financial institution, supported largely by the capital of their employers, because, as they say, if mill-owners suspected that their employees were saving they would promptly cut down wages. Both facts illustrate that the development of providence among the poor depends in large measure on the establishment of personal relations of mutual confidence between the banker and his prospective customers.

The Lighthouse Savings Fund has been conducted during its first nine months at an average monthly expenditure of about one hundred dollars. During this time it has helped more than five thousand people to save, and in this way has done as much for the physical and moral well-being of its patrons as any possible preventive agency could hope to do. Its business is steadily growing, and gives promise of eventually reaching very considerable proportions. While it is not yet self-supporting, its cost is but trifling when compared with the benefits it already confers. Moreover, instead of showing an increasing deficit, like many an old-fashioned charity, the figures point to an opposite result, and to its becoming almost, if not quite, self-supporting in the not very distant future.

The belief that this little institution is rendering valuable social service, and the hope that it may be copied by similar institutions in other localities, leads me to give the readers of the *ANNALS* a somewhat technical description of its business methods.

The bank has been organized on a plan which admits of almost indefinite expansion, but which is simplicity itself. With over 900 book depositors and more than 3,200 stamp-cards outstanding, its business is easily handled by the cashier and two youthful assistants. It is now open every day and on two evenings in the week, so that opportunity is given to get to the bank, however long the depositor's working hours may be.

The bank receives two classes of deposits: book deposits, on which interest is allowed at the rate of 2 per cent per annum, and stamp deposits, which do not bear interest. In the former class, the first deposit must be at least two dollars, and no amounts of less than ten cents are entered in the bank books. In the latter class, deposits of any amount are received.

Entering the bank, one sees three windows which are lettered, respectively: "Book Deposits," "Withdrawals," and "Stamp Deposits." The last window always seems the most popular, and particularly on Friday and Saturday afternoon and evening is constantly surrounded by large numbers of children.

One week's notice is required in order to make a withdrawal. At the time this notice is given, the depositor is required to leave his bank book, and is given in exchange a small receipt card. A week later the money is payable on surrender of the card, and by signing a receipt. The use of consecutive numbers on the receipt cards makes the finding of any particular item exceedingly easy. All the money represented by a stamp-card has to be drawn at one time, no payments on account being made in this class of deposits. These withdrawals are treated in the same way as book withdrawals, except that the deposit being to bearer, the money is simply paid out on surrender of the receipt card.

The work of the bank is divided into three distinct parts—the receipt of book deposits, the sale of stamps, and the payment of withdrawals. All book deposits are entered in the receiving teller's scratcher at the same time that they are entered in the depositor's book. At the close of the day all the deposits are entered in the individual depositors' ledger. The form of ledger used is a "loose leaf" book, with columns for dates, deposits, withdrawals and balances. Book withdrawals are treated in the same way as deposits, with the exception that a week's notice is required before the cash is paid out. This permits the cashier always to provide for a week in advance, and enables a small force to handle easily a large amount of current business. Interest is paid on these book accounts, and is calculated by transferring each month to a card index, the monthly balance on which interest is allowed. At the end of the year the interest is computed by a short method, and is added to the bank book and ledger in the same way as an ordinary deposit.

A signature book is kept, in which the depositor signs his name on opening the account, or, where this is not possible, owing to illiteracy or the tender years of the customer, the name is noted by the cashier with some description of the depositor.

An alphabetical card index of the depositors is also kept.

In a community such as that in which the Lighthouse Savings Fund transacts its business, many active book accounts are opened without getting the depositor's signature. Often a single child will do the banking for a whole street, and it is a matter of wonder that a child of eight or nine can remember the amounts of perhaps a dozen different deposits and withdrawals without so much as a scrap of paper to aid in the feat of memory.

The only other book used by this department is the "Withdrawals of Deposits" scratcher. In it the amounts to be withdrawn are entered in numerical order, and the depositor signs for the sum received.

The stamp business requires less bookkeeping; a balance-sheet showing the number of stamps on hand, and the "Stamps Redeemed" scratcher comprising the entire outfit of this department. A settlement is made at the close of each day's business, and it is always possible to tell the exact amount of stamps outstanding and the number of cards on which they are placed. Extreme accuracy has to be observed in the handling of stamps, as a mistake once made is irretrievable.

Monthly balance sheets are taken off by the cashier of the bank, and his accounts are audited each month. In addition, the cashier and his assistants are bonded in a surety company.

The funds of the bank are deposited in a trust company, which is its active depository, and a special reserve is kept in another large banking house.

A list of the books used by the bank and a copy of the rules in regard to deposits, etc., would still further explain its methods, but it is believed that the above description contains in general the information indispensable to anyone who desires to establish a similar institution. Should a more detailed account of the operations of the bank be desired, its officers will be very glad to supply it.

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Philadelphia.

CORRECTION.—The clause on page 77, line 7, in this department of the May ANNALS (Vol. XVII), reading, "a two-thirds vote of" should be corrected to read "a majority of all of the members elected to." The "two-thirds" requirement was a feature of the revised constitution submitted to the voters of Rhode Island in 1899, but was rejected.

PERSONAL NOTES.

Bates College.—Dr. C. William A. Veditz has been appointed Acting Professor of History and Economics at Bates College, Lewiston, Me. He was born at Philadelphia, November 18, 1872, and received his early education in the public schools and the Philadelphia Central Manual Training School, from which institution he graduated in 1889. The same year he entered the Wharton School of Finance and Economy of the University of Pennsylvania, where he received the degree of Ph. B. in 1893. From the fall of 1891 until the early part of 1895 Dr. Veditz studied in Germany, principally at the universities of Berlin, Leipzig and Halle, graduating from the latter in March, 1895, having specialized in economics and sociology. From the middle of 1895 until the end of 1899 he continued his studies in France, principally at the Paris Law School, the School of Anthropology, the Sorbonne and the College of Social Sciences. In 1900 he studied and traveled in Italy, returning to America the beginning of 1901, and in April was appointed Honorary Fellow in Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Veditz is a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He has been a frequent contributor to French, German and American newspapers and has written:

"*Thünen's Werthehre verglichen mit den Werthehren einiger neuerer Autoren.*" Halle, a. S., 1896.

"*New Academic Degrees at Paris.*" ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1896.

"*Revue des Périodiques*" in the Paris Revue internationale de Sociologie, 1896.

"*Sociologica: Instruction at Paris.*" American Journal of Sociology, 1897.

Cogswell Polytechnic College, San Francisco.—Mr. Barton Cruikshank has been elected President of Cogswell Polytechnic College. Mr. Cogswell was born February 5, 1866, at Albany, N. Y., and received his early education in the Brooklyn public schools and at Adelphi Academy and Adelphi College, in Brooklyn, also at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. He received the degree of M. S. at Francis Xavier College, New York, 1899, and since 1886 has been connected with a number of manufacturing concerns as engineer. He was Instructor in Graphics, Kinematics and Valve Gearing at Princeton University in 1891-92, and was head of the Department of Graphics and Metal Work of the Manual Training High School of

Brooklyn from 1893 to 1897. From 1897 to 1901 he was President of Clarkson School of Technology, Potsdam, N. Y. Mr. Cruikshank is a member of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, American Forestry Association, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, the American Association for the Advancement of Engineering Education, and the International Association for Testing Materials. He has published an article in the *Engineering Magazine* for July on "Repetitive Parts Manufacture," and he is the author of other articles in the *American Machinist*, and in the publications of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

Cornell University.—In the reorganization of the Department of Political Economy, Sociology and Political Science at Cornell University, Professor J. W. Jenks, the head of the department, takes the Chair of Political Economy and Politics in the place of that of Political Economy and Civil and Social Institutions. A personal and biographical note of Professor Jenks and his work will be found in the *ANNALS* for July, 1891.¹ Since that time the record of Professor Jenks' activity comprises the following interesting facts:

The academic year, 1892-93, was spent by Professor Jenks in Europe making a special study of practical political methods followed in the leading European states, especially with reference to the methods of legislation. This time was spent mostly in the capitals, London, Paris, Rome, Berlin and Berne, and the work was done in connection with the officers of the government rather than in connection with the universities. Professor Jenks has also served (1895-97) as secretary of the American Economic Association, and for several years was secretary and then chairman of the Committee on Finance of the American Social Science Association.

In February, 1899, he was appointed Expert Agent of the United States Industrial Commission and was put in charge of their investigation of Industrial Combinations. In that position he has had under the general direction of the Commission the task of selecting the witnesses to be heard, of questioning the same, of editing their testimony and of making special studies on the general subject. In the summer of 1900, in connection with that work, he visited Europe and investigated the conditions regarding Industrial Combinations in England, France, Germany and Austria.

He was, in August of this year, appointed Special Commissioner of the War Department to investigate economic conditions in the Orient, particularly the currency systems and conditions regarding labor, internal taxation and police in Burmah, the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, and Java, and to report to the Secretary

¹ Vol. II, p. 105.

of War and to the Philippine Commission on these questions. He is to spend his sabbatical year in this investigation. The result of this work on Industrial Combinations in Europe is now in press and will be published immediately by the Commission.

The following is a list of Professor Jenks' more important publications since 1891:

- "*University Extension in Indiana.*" Book News, May, 1891.
- "*Land Transfer Reform.*" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1891.
- "*Trade Unions and Wages.*" Journal of Social Science, October, 1891; also reprinted with additions in the Inlander, 1891.
- "*A Word to Trade Unions.*" Charities Review, December, 1891.
- "*The Trusts in the United States.*" Economic Journal (English), March, 1892; rewritten with additions from the Jahrbücher für National-Ökonomie und Statistik, January, 1891, where it appeared under the title "Die 'Trusts' in den Ver. Staaten von Amerika."
- "*School Book Legislation.*" Political Science Quarterly, 1891.
- "*Practical Economic Questions.*" Syllabus of Lectures, 1892.
- "*Critique of Educational Values.*" Educational Review, January, 1892.
- "*Railway Profit Sharing.*" Charities Review, May, 1892.
- "*The Peace Movement in Europe.*" Christian Union, October 8, 1892.
- "*Money and Practical Politics.*" Century Magazine, October, 1892.
- "*Economic Legislation.*" Syllabus, 1893.
- "*The Moral Bearing of Good Roads.*" Congregationalist, June 22, 1893.
- "*Electional Corruption: Its Cause and Cure.*" Cornell Magazine, 1894.
- "*Present Aspect of the Silver Problem.*" Journal of Social Science, 1894.
- "*A Greek Prime Minister, Charilaos Tricoupis.*" Atlantic Monthly, March, 1894.
- "*The Suppression of Bribery in England.*" Century Magazine, March, 1894.
- "*Practical Politics.*" Public Opinion, March 7, 1895.
- "*Capitalistic Monopolies and their Relation to the State.*" Political Science Quarterly, September, 1894.
- "*Political Methods.*" Syllabus of Lectures, 1894.
- "*The Guidance of Public Opinion.*" American Journal of Sociology, September, 1895.
- "*The Social Basis of Proportional Representation.*" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1895.

"*Bill to Establish a System of Proportional Representation in Cities.*" The Proportional Representation Review, December, 1895.

Editor "*Handbook of the American Economic Association*," (1895, 1896, 1897,) with reports of the annual meetings. Publications of the American Economic Association.

"*Political Party Machinery in the United States.*" Chautauquan, 1896.

"*Training for Citizenship.*" National Herbart Society, 1896.

"*Political Questions.*" Syllabus of Lectures, 1897.

"*Causes of the Fall in Prices Since 1872.*" Bankers' Magazine, October, 1897. The same revised, the Journal of Social Science, December, 1897.

"*Society as an Organism.*" Discussion, Journal of Social Science, December, 1898.

"*Recent Legislation and Adjudication on Trusts.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, July, 1898.

"*France*," two articles in the Chicago Record's "Governments of the World of To-day," February 8 and 15, 1899.

"*Necessity of Teaching the Duties of Citizenship in the Public Schools.*" Regents' Bulletin, May, 1899.

"*Trusts and Industrial Combinations*," a Statistical Study. Bulletin of the Department of Labor, July, 1900. Government Printing Office, Washington.

"*The Trusts, Facts Established and Problems Unsolved.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, November, 1900.

"*Essays in Colonial Finance.*" Publications of the American Economic Association, August, 1900, chairman of editorial committee and author of essays on English Colonies in the Far East. Articles in Johnson's Encyclopedia: especially Ballot Reform, Caucus, Political Science, Monopolies; articles in Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy: especially Homestead and Exemption Laws in the United States, Local Government in the United States, Trusts in the United States.

"*The Trust Problem*," July, 1900. McClure, Phillips & Company. Pp. xix, 281. 12mo.

Editor *Preliminary Report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. I*, and author of the chapter on the "*Effects of Combinations on Prices*," large oct., 264,—1,325; editor of *Report of Industrial Commission, Vol. II*, large oct. Pp. 291; Part I, "*Statutes and Decisions of Federal States and Territorial Law on Trusts and Industrial Combinations*," editor; (Final Report on Trusts—editor and author of

chapter on "*Capitalization and Securities of Industrial Combinations*"—in press); (Report of Industrial Commission "*Industrial Combinations in Europe*," author and editor—in press).

An "*Act for the Incorporation and Regulation of Business Companies*" (Bill prepared for the New York Senate, Albany, 1900).

"*Elements of the Trust Problem*," (Chicago Conference on Trusts, 1900).

"*Publicity a Remedy for the Evils of Trusts*." Review of Reviews, April, 1900.

"*Professor Moses Coit Tyler*, a biographical sketch, the Michigan Alumnus, March, 1901.

"*How Trusts Affect Prices*." North American Review, June, 1901.

"*Social Effects of the Consolidation of Wealth*." Address before the Congress of Religions, June, 1901. Published in Unity, July 18, 1901.

Professor Walter F. Willcox, upon his return to his academic duties at Cornell, in September, 1901, will take the Chair of Political Economy and Statistics. A notice of his former appointment in Cornell University appeared in the ANNALS for September, 1899,¹ at which time he entered upon the duties of Chief Statistician in charge of the Division of Methods and Results in the Census Office at Washington. He received a leave of absence to enable him to carry on this work, but now returns to his academic duties, retaining his connection with the Census Office. Since September, 1899, Professor Willcox has published the following papers and monographs:

"*Memorandum on Efforts to Determine the Area and Population of the Philippine Islands*." American Statistical Association. New Series, No. 47, September, 1899. Pp. 34, Vol. 6, p. 346.

"*Address, Race Problems of the South*." Report of the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference held under the auspices of the Southern Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Conditions and Problems in the South, at Montgomery, Alabama, May 8, 9, 10, 1900.

"*A Difficulty with American Census-Taking*." Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XIV. August, 1900.

"*The Census of New York City*." New York Evening Post, August 24, 1900.

"*American Census Methods*." The Forum, September, 1900.

"*War Department, Report of the Census of Cuba, 1899*." Washington, 1900. (Statistical Expert and Joint Author.)

"*War Department, Report of the Census of Porto Rico, 1899*." Washington, 1900. (Statistical Expert and Joint Author.)

¹ Vol. xiv, p. 221.

"*Negro Criminality.*" An address delivered before the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, September 6, 1899.

Professor Frank A. Fetter has been appointed to the newly established Chair of Political Economy and Finance. Professor Fetter goes to Cornell from Leland Stanford Jr. University, where he held the Chair of Economics from 1898 to 1900, serving as acting professor in the first year, a notice of which appointment, together with a biographical sketch of Professor Fetter, appeared in the *ANNALS* for September, 1898.¹ The appointment was made permanent in 1899, and in May of 1900 Professor Fetter was granted a leave of absence for a year, which he has spent in travel and study. He served as Professor of Economics at Cornell University in the Summer School of 1901, and will begin his duties as Professor of Economics and Finance in September of this year.

Among his recent publications are the following:

"*The Essay of Malthus.*" a Centennial Review. *Yale Review* 7: 153 (August, 1898).

"*Politics in the Charitable Institutions of the Pacific Coast.*" Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities for 1899.

"*Social Progress and Race Degeneration.*" *Forum* 28: 228 (October, 1899).

"*Recent Discussion of the Capital Concept.*" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 15: 1 (November, 1900).

"*The Next Decade of Economic Theory.*" Publications of the American Economic Association. New Series, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 236 (January, 1901).

"*The Passing of the Old Rent Concept.*" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 15 (May, 1901).

"*Public Subsidies to Private Charities.*" Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections for 1901.

"*An American Economist*" (J. B. Clark). *International Monthly*. July, 1901.

"*The Maps, Diagrams, Data, and Statistical Tables on Housing Conditions*" (circa 100 pp.), embodied in the report of the City Homes Association on "Tenement Conditions in Chicago." R. R. Donnelly & Sons Company. Chicago, 1901.

Professor Charles H. Hull, who has, since the last personal note relating to him was published in the *ANNALS* in May, 1893,² continued in his work as Assistant Professor of Political Economy at that institution, was recently offered the option of a promotion to full professorship of Political Economy, or to the professorship of Ameri-

¹ Vol. xii, p. 260.

² Vol. iii, p. 810.

can History. He has chosen the latter alternative and will begin his work as Professor of American History at Cornell in September of this year. Since the last note was published, Dr. Hull has prepared an edition of the *Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, which was printed by the University Press in Cambridge in 1899.

Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.—Dr. James E. Pilcher has been recently elected Professor of Sociology and Economics at Dickinson College. He also holds the Chair of Medical Jurisprudence in the Dickinson School of Law and is Professor Emeritus of Military Surgery at the Ohio Medical University. Dr. Pilcher was born March 18, 1857, at Adrian, Mich. He studied at the Detroit High School and graduated from Michigan University with the degree of B. A. in 1879. He received the degree of M. A. and Ph. D. from the Illinois Wesleyan University in 1887, and the degree of M. D. from the Long Island College Hospital, Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1880. He was appointed lecturer on Military Hygiene at Starling Medical College in 1896, and was Professor of Military Surgery at the Ohio Medical University in 1896-97, and held the same chair at Creighton Medical College in 1897-98, and the Chair of Anatomy and Embryology at Dickinson College in 1899-1900. He is a fellow of the American Academy of Medicine and a member of a number of medical associations, being a life member and Secretary and Editor of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States. He is also a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a member of the American Medical Association. He has served in the United States Army Medical Department, ranking as Lieutenant in 1883, Captain in 1888, Major in 1898, and retired in 1900. He has also been a member of the editorial staff of several professional periodicals from 1881 to 1901. Some of the more important of his publications are as follows:

"*First Aid in Illness and Injury*;" 8vo, pp. 322. English edition. London, 1892.

American editions, New York, 1892, 1894, 1897, 1898, 1899.

"*Life and Labors of Elijah H. Pilcher*." Royal 8vo, pp. 142. New York, 1893.

"*Columbus Book of the Military Surgeons*." 8vo, pp. 100. Columbus, 1897.

"*Transportation of the Disabled*." Reference Handbook of the Medical Sciences. Same subject in Supplement to the same.

"*The Uniform of the West Point Cadet*." Journal Military Serv. Inst. 8vo., pp. 16.

"*Transportation of the Disabled*." Journal Military Serv. Inst. 8vo, pp. 28.

"*A New Field of Honor*." Scribner's Magazine, pp. 16.

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"*The Methods of Instruction in First Aid.*" Trans. Association Military Surg. 8vo, pp. 20.

"*The Building of the Soldier.*" United Service Magazine. Royal 8vo, pp. 20.

"*Place of Physical Training in Military Service.*" 8vo, pp. 12.

"*Chauliac and Mondeville.*" Annals of Surgery. 8vo, pp. 24.

"*Some Sixteenth Century Surgery.*" Annals of Surgery. 8vo, pp. 36.

Harvard University.—Mr. William Garrott Brown has been appointed lecturer on American History Since the Civil War.

Mr. Brown was born in Marion, Ala., April 24, 1868. He was prepared for college at the private schools of Marion and Selma, Ala., entering Howard College, at Marion, in 1883, and taking his A. B. degree in 1886 with first honor. He took the A. B. degree at Harvard College in 1891, with highest honors in History, and has been a student in the Harvard Graduate School from 1891 to 1893, taking his A. M. degree in 1892. From 1892 to 1896 Mr. Brown has been Assistant in the Harvard Library in charge of the archives and has been Deputy Keeper of the University Records of Harvard from 1896 to 1901.

Among Mr. Brown's recent publications are articles for the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Youth's Companion* and also for the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. He has edited the "*Official Guide to Harvard University*," and has published a "*Life of Andrew Jackson*" (Riverside Biographical Series) and a "*History of Alabama*" (University Publishing Company, New York). In his studies Mr. Brown has specialized in American politics and in Southern political history.

Howard University, Washington, D. C.—Mr. Kelly Miller has been recently appointed Instructor in Sociology in addition to the professorship in mathematics which he has held in this institution since 1890.

Mr. Kelly Miller was born July 23, 1863, in Fairfield County, South Carolina. His early education was received in the local county schools and at the private academy, after which he entered Howard University at Washington, taking the degree of A. B. in 1886. He pursued graduate studies at the Johns Hopkins University in 1888 and 1889, and became teacher of mathematics in the Washington High School in 1889. He was appointed Professor of Mathematics in Howard University in 1890, which position he still holds. Professor Miller has given considerable study to the principles of theoretical sociology, and especially to the negro question, having specialized on the subject of negro education. He is the First Vice-President of the Ameri-

can Negro Academy, and President of the Graduate Club composed of colored college graduates. He is also a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, of the National Educational Association, and of the Walt Whitman International Fellowship. Among Professor Miller's recent publications are the following:

"*Primary Needs of the Negro of Negro Race.*" 18 pp.

"*The Function of the Higher Education.*" 12 pp.

"*The Educational Value of Geometry.*" Proceedings of N. E. A., 1898.

"*A Sensible Political Policy for the Negro.*" Outlook, December, 1898.

"*The Political Status of a Backward Race.*" Liberia, 1899.

"*Lynching and Its Remedy.*" Hampton Workman, 1899.

"*The Modern Land of Goshen.*" Hampton Workman, 1899.

"*The Effect of Imperialism Upon the Negro Race.*" Broadside No. 11, 1900.

"*Education and the Negro.*" Forum, 1901.

"*Euclid and His Modern Rivals.*" Education, 1901.

Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kan.—Mr. C. E. Goodell¹ was appointed in the fall of 1900 Professor of History and Economics in the Kansas State Agricultural College. He had previously held for two years a fellowship in Political Science in Chicago University. He has in preparation for press a "History of the City Government of Indianapolis."

Lincoln College, Lincoln, Ill.—Rev. Dr. James L. Goodknight has been elected President of Lincoln College at Lincoln, he having been President of Lincoln University during the past academic year. Lincoln University has now become the James Millikin University of Lincoln, and has another branch at Decatur, Ill., known as the Decatur College and Industrial School. Dr. Goodknight was born August 24, 1846, in Allen County, Kentucky. He received his early education at the country schools and at a private academy and school. He graduated from Cumberland University with the degree of A. B. in 1871, and took the degree of B. D. from the Union Theological Seminary in New York City in 1879. He has also the degree of A. M., received from the Cumberland University in 1897, and the degree of D. D. from Waynesburg College, Pennsylvania, in 1891. He has pursued graduate studies at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland and at Jena in Germany. Dr. Goodknight was President of the West Virginia University from 1895 to 1897, since which time he has been connected with Lincoln University. He has been a frequent contributor to newspapers, periodicals and school journals.

¹ See ANNALS, vol. 7, p. 589, January, 1895.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.—Professor William Z. Ripley¹ has been advanced to the position of Professor of Economics and Sociology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is for the present year on leave of absence serving as Expert Agent for the United States Industrial Commission. Among his recent publications on economic topics may be noted the "Capitalization of Public Service Corporations," in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for November, 1900. Professor Ripley is preparing for the American Citizen Series, published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Company, edited by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, a volume on Railway Economics, which will attempt to outline the more recent developments since the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Act, and will be confined to the experience of the United States.

University of Minnesota.—Dr. William A. Schaper has been appointed Instructor in Political Science at the University of Minnesota.

Dr. Schaper was born April 17, 1869, at La Crosse, Wis., and was educated in the public schools of that place and at the State Normal School at River Falls, Wis., where he was in attendance from 1886 to 1891. From 1893 to 1895 he was a student at the University of Wisconsin, taking the degree of B. L. in 1895, and continuing in graduate work at Wisconsin in 1895-96; at Columbia 1896-98, when he took his M. A. degree and then went abroad, spending the year 1900-01 at Berlin, and returning to take his Doctor of Philosophy degree at Columbia in 1901.

Dr. Schaper has been teacher of History and Economics at the Dubuque High School, at Dubuque, Ia., and was connected with the United States Census Office during the summer vacation of 1901, working in the Population Division. While at Columbia, Dr. Schaper held a scholarship in Economics in 1896, and a fellowship in Sociology in 1898. He was appointed Instructor in the University of Minnesota in 1900, with leave of absence, however, for the academic year 1900-01, for the purpose of spending this time in study abroad. He will enter on his duties at the University of Minnesota in September of this year. Among his recent publications is the following: "*A Paper on Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*," a sociological study, which makes from 250 to 300 pages in print, and will appear in the Proceedings of the American Historical Association for 1900. This essay was awarded the Justin Winsor Prize, given for the best monograph in American History, based on original research. The prize was awarded by a Committee of the American Historical Association at its last meeting in Detroit.

¹ See *ANNALS*, vol. xvi, p. 279, September, 1900.

University of Missouri, Columbia.—Dr. Isidor Loeb has been advanced from the position of Assistant Professor of History to that of Professor of History at the University of Missouri. A biographical note relating to Professor Loeb appeared in the ANNALS for September, 1896.¹ Since that time it is interesting to note that Professor Loeb received a leave of absence in September, 1900, spending the year in study in Europe, part of the time in attendance at the University of Berlin. In February, 1901, he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia University, and in April, 1901, his title at the University of Missouri was changed to that of Professor of History and Administration. He has published recently "*The German Colonial Fiscal System*," publications of the American Economic Association, Third Series, Volume I, No. 3, August, 1900; and "*The Legal Property Relations of Married Parties*," a study in comparative legislation, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, New York, 1900.

Dr. Charles A. Ellwood was appointed Professor of Sociology in April, 1900, the Chair having been established largely through the influence of the Missouri State Board of Charities, and the work of the Department was considered very successful during the first year. Dr. Ellwood was born near Ogdensburg, N. Y., January 20, 1873. He studied at the Ogdensburg Free Academy from 1888 to 1892, and at Cornell University from 1892 to 1896, taking the degree of Ph. B. at Cornell in 1896. He was a graduate student at the University of Chicago during 1896-97 and at Berlin 1897-98, and was Fellow in Sociology at the University of Chicago during 1898-99, taking the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (*magna cum laude*) at the University of Chicago in 1899. He was appointed General Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Lincoln, Neb., and at the same time an Instructor in Sociology at the University of Nebraska, from which place he went to Missouri University. Dr. Ellwood is a member of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Secretary of the Missouri Conference of Charities and Correction, and a member of the Western Philosophical Association. Dr. Ellwood's thesis for his Doctor's degree was entitled: "*Some Prolegomena to Social Psychology*," and was published by the University of Chicago Press in 1901. It appeared separately in a series of four articles in the American Journal of Sociology for March, May, July and September, 1899. The titles of these articles are: (1) The Need of the Study of Social Psychology; (2) The Fundamental Fact in Social Psychology; (3) The Nature and Task of Social Psychology; and (4) Concept of

¹ Vol. viii, p. 361.

the Social Mind. He is also the author of an article on the "*Theory of Imitation in Social Psychology*" in the American Journal of Sociology, May, 1901.

University of Nebraska.—Professor Edward A. Ross, who held the Chair of Economic Theory and Finance at Leland Stanford Jr. University from 1893 to 1897, and the Chair of Sociology at the same institution from 1897 to 1900, has been appointed Professor of Sociology at the University of Nebraska. He was Lecturer in Sociology in the same institution from February to June, 1901, and will assume his duties as Professor in September of this year. A personal note relating to Professor Ross will be found in the ANNALS for May, 1893,¹ since which time he has published the following papers and books:

"*The Tendencies of Natural Values.*" Yale Review, August, 1893.

"*The Total Utility Standard of Deferred Payments.*" ANNALS, November, 1893.

"*The Unseen Foundations of Society.*" Political Science Quarterly, December, 1893.

"*The Location of Industries.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, April, 1896.

"*Uncertainty as a Factor in Production.*" ANNALS, September, 1896.

"*Honest Dollars.*" Chicago, 1896. 64 pages.

"*Our Financial Policy.*" Review of Reviews, January, 1897.

"*The Roots of Discontent.*" The Independent, January 28 and February 4, 1897.

"*The Mob Mind.*" Popular Science Monthly, July, 1897.

"*The Educational Function of the Church.*" Outlook, August, 1897.

"*The Sociological Frontier of Economics.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, July, 1899.

"*England as an Ally.*" Arena, July, 1900.

"*The Causes of Race Superiority.*" ANNALS, July, 1901.

"*Social Control.*" Twenty Articles, American Journal of Sociology, March, 1896–March, 1898; January, 1900–January, 1901.

"*Social Control.*" 463 pages. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1901.

Mr. Comadore E. Prevey has been appointed Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Nebraska.

Mr. Prevey was born December 30, 1871, at Elroy, Wis. He graduated from the public high school of that place in 1888, and studied at the University of Wisconsin 1891 to 1895, taking the degree of

¹ Vol. III, p. 810.

B. L. at that time. He was a graduate student at Yale in 1897-98, and at Columbia 1898-1900, taking the degree of A. M. at Columbia in 1900. Mr. Prevey has held the position of General Secretary of the Associated Charities at Ft. Wayne, Ind., and was a member of the Tenth District Committee of the Charity Organization Society of New York City from 1898 to 1900. He was Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Nebraska in 1900-01 and became General Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Lincoln, Neb., at the same time. Among Mr. Prevey's recent publications may be noted:

"*Comparative Statistics of Railroad Service Under Different Kinds of Control.*" Quarterly publications of the American Statistical Association, September, 1898.

"*Economic Aspects of Charity Organization.*" ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1899.

New Jersey State Charities Aid Association.—Dr. William H. Allen who held the position of Instructor in Political Science in the University of Pennsylvania, has recently been elected Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New Jersey. Dr. Allen's active interest and participation in practical efforts at social reform will here find a large field for work. He has already identified himself, as a member of the Summer School for Philanthropic Work in New York City, with the best educational work along the lines of modern philanthropy.

A personal note relating to Dr. Allen appeared in the ANNALS for September, 1900,¹ since which time he has written "The Election of 1900."² ANNALS, November, 1900.

He continues as one of the editors of the Department of Municipal Notes in the ANNALS, in which work he has shown a wide range of sympathies and good critical judgment.

University of North Carolina.—Mr. Charles Lee Raper³ has recently been appointed Associate Professor of Economic History in the University of North Carolina.

Northwestern University.—Mr. John E. George, formerly Instructor in Economics, has been made Assistant Professor of Economics in Northwestern University. A personal note relating to Mr. George appeared in the ANNALS for January, 1901,⁴ since which time he has published an article in the May number of the Quarterly Journal of Economics on "*The Chicago Building Trades Conflict of 1900.*"

¹ Vol. xvi, p. 282.

² This study was outlined and prepared with the assistance of the Senior Arts Class in Practical Politics, in the University of Pennsylvania.

³ See ANNALS, vol. xvi, p. 446, November, 1900.

⁴ Vol. xvii, p. 107.

Ohio State University.—Dr. James E. Hagerty has been appointed Assistant Professor of Economics and Sociology at the Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Dr. Hagerty was born at La Porte, Ind., and received his early education in the public schools of that place, graduating finally from the Northern Indiana Normal School. He entered Indiana University in 1888, graduating in 1892 with the A. B. degree, and then taught mathematics in the La Porte High School for four years. He entered upon graduate work at the University of Chicago in 1896-97, and was subsequently appointed Honorary Fellow at the University of Wisconsin for the year 1897-98. He then went abroad and spent the year 1898-99 in study at Berlin and Halle, and was subsequently appointed Harrison Fellow in Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. He took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania in 1900, and was appointed Senior Fellow for the year 1900-01.

Dr. Hagerty has in preparation for press a volume on the "*Social Aspects of the Distribution of Economic Goods.*"

South Dakota Agricultural College.—Mr. Albert Spencer Harding, formerly Assistant in History and Economics in the South Dakota Agricultural College, has been advanced to the position of Professor of History and Civics.

Professor Harding was born November 30, 1867, at Janesville, Rock County, Wis. He received his early education in the public schools of Janesville, and in 1889 entered the South Dakota College, from which he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Science, in 1892. His M. A. degree was taken at the University of Nebraska in 1897, where he studied from 1892 to 1894, and again from 1895 to 1897, holding the fellowship in American History in the University of Nebraska in the academic year 1896-97. He was also a student in the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin in 1898.

Syracuse University.—Mr. Delmer E. Hawkins has been advanced from the position of Instructor in Political Economy to that of Associate Professor at Syracuse University. Mr. Hawkins was born June 11, 1868, at Mooers, N. Y., and received his early education at Mooers High School and at Cazenovia Seminary, at Cazenovia, N. Y. He entered Syracuse University in 1890, taking the degree of A. B. in 1894, A. M. in 1896, and LL. B. in 1898. He was a student at the summer school held at the University of Pennsylvania in 1894 and he also studied at Columbia from 1898 to 1900. He held the position of Instructor in Political Economy at Syracuse University from 1894 to 1896, and again in 1900-01.

University of Utah.—Professor G. Coray has been appointed Professor of Economics and Sociology. A biographical note relating to Professor Coray was published in the *ANNALS* for September, 1895,¹ since which time he has engaged extensively in public lecturing and has read a paper before the State Historical Society.

Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill.—Professor Eliot Whipple has been appointed Professor of History, Civics and Economics. A personal note relating to Professor Whipple appeared in the *ANNALS* for September, 1894,² since which time he has published a series of articles on Secret Societies and Civil Government, appearing in the monthly issues from June to September, 1896, of a periodical entitled *Christian Cynosure*, published in Chicago.

University of Wisconsin.—Professor B. H. Meyer, of the University of Wisconsin, has recently been appointed Professor of Institutes of Commerce at that institution. This change has come about through some reorganization of the work of the department, and in future Professor Meyer will specialize in the subjects of Commerce and Transportation rather than in Sociology and Transportation as in the past. A biographical notice of Professor Meyer, with some account of his work, was published in the *ANNALS* for November, 1899.³ Since that time he has written the following articles and monographs :

"*Railway Charters.*" Proceedings American Economic Association, December 27-29, 1899.

"*Railway Charters.*" Railroad Gazette, January 5, 1900.

"*The Problem of the Small Town.*" Modern Culture, June, 1900.

"*Four Synthesists : Cross Sections from Comte, Lilienfeld, Schaeffle and Spencer.*" American Journal of Sociology, July, 1900.

"*Fraternal Beneficiary Societies in the United States.*" American Journal of Sociology, March, 1901.

"*Fraternal Insurance in the United States.*" *ANNALS* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1901.

"*Fraternal Societies and the Saloon.*" A contribution to a volume on "Substitutes for the Saloon," by Raymond Calkins.

"*Railway Regulation Under Domestic and Foreign Laws.*" A Report to the United States Industrial Commission. (In press.)

Professor Paul S. Reinsch, formerly Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, has been made Professor of the same subject. A notice of Professor Reinach and his work

¹ Vol. vi, p. 298.

² Vol. v, p. 282.

³ Vol. xvi, p. 353.

appeared in the ANNALS for November, 1899,¹ since which time his chief written work has been as follows:

"*World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century.*" New York: Macmillan, 1900.

"*China Against the World.*" The Forum, September, 1900.

"*The Meeting of Orient and Occident.*" Modern Culture, September, 1900.

"*Cultural Factors in the Chinese Crisis.*" ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1900.

"*Friedrich Nietzsche.*" Modern Culture, November, 1900.

"*The Political Spirit of the Last Half Century.*" Conservative Review, December, 1900.

"*Political Changes of a Century.*" The World's Work, December, 1900.

"*The New Industrial Conquest of the World.*" The World's Work, February, 1901.

"*French Experience with Representative Government in the West Indies.*" American Historical Review, April, 1901.

"*Governing the Orient on Western Principles.*" The Forum, June, 1901.

"*The Policy of Assimilation.*" Modern Culture, July, 1901.

Mr. Allyn Abbott Young has been appointed Assistant in Economics in the University of Wisconsin. He was born September 19, 1876, at Kenton, O., and received his early education at public and private schools in Sioux Falls, S. D. In 1891 he entered Hiram College receiving the degree of Ph. B. in 1894. During the next four years he was engaged in journalism, and in 1898 entered the University of Wisconsin. During 1899-1900 he was engaged in work in connection with the United States Census Office in the Division of Methods and Results. Mr. Young is a member of the American Economic Association and of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He has written:

"*The Comparative Accuracy of Different Forms of Quinquennial Age Groups.*" Publications of the American Statistical Association, March, June, 1900.

"*The Enumeration of Children.*" Publications of the American Statistical Association, March, 1901.

Yale University.—Mr. John Pease Norton has been appointed Assistant in Political Economy in Yale College, and will offer courses next year on Trade Statistics and on the Statistical Theory of the

¹ Vol. xiv, p. 354.

Evolution of Man. He has specialized along the lines of Mathematical and Statistical Economics and of Sociology.

Mr. Norton was born in Suffield, Conn., July 28, 1877, and received his early education in the West Middle District School of Hartford. He also studied three years at the Hartford High School, and later at the Los Angeles High School. He graduated from Yale University in 1899, receiving the B. A. degree and delivering the valedictory address. He took his Doctor of Philosophy degree at Yale in 1901, the subject of his thesis being "*Contribution to the Theory of Money and Credit*," with some statistical investigation of the weekly statements of the New York Associated Banks covering twenty-two years.

Dr. Norton is a member of the American Economic Association and of the Political and Social Science Club of Yale.

Mr. Edson Newton Tuckey has been appointed Instructor in Political Science in Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University.

Mr. Tuckey was born at Belle Plain, Minn., February 7, 1870. He was educated in the public schools of Eden Prairie and Mankato, and also in the Preparatory and College Departments of Hamline University, in which institution he was matriculated from 1886 to 1893, taking his B. A. degree in 1893. He was a graduate student in the University of Minnesota from 1895 to 1898, during which time he taught in the Minneapolis schools. He has received the degree of M. S. from the University of Minnesota, and in the years 1899 and 1900 spent fourteen months abroad studying at the London School of Economics and at the University of Berlin. He has been a graduate student at Yale University in the academic year 1900-01. Mr. Tuckey was also Principal of the Richfield (Minn.) graded schools from 1893 to 1895, and Principal of the Graceville (Minn.) High School, and Superintendent of Grades in 1898-99. He has specialized in the study of Public Service Monopolies.

IN ACCORDANCE with our custom we give below a list of the students in political and social science and allied subjects on whom the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred at the close of or during the last academic year.¹

Adrian College.—Houghton Kost Fox, A. M. Thesis: *The Place of Irving in American Literature*.

¹ See ANNALS, vol. i, p. 293, for academic year, 1889-90; vol. ii, p. 233 for 1890-91; vol. iii, p. 241, for 1891-92; vol. iv, p. 312 and p. 466 for 1892-93; vol. v, p. 282 and p. 419, for 1893-94; vol. vi, p. 300 and p. 482, for 1894-95; vol. viii, p. 364, for 1895-96; vol. x, p. 256, for 1896-97; vol. xii, p. 262 and p. 411, for 1898-99; vol. xiv, p. 227, for 1899-1900; vol. xvi, p. 283, for 1900-01.

University of Chicago.—Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, S. B., Ph. M. Thesis: *Legal Tender: A Study in English and American Monetary History.*

Charles Joseph Bushnell, Ph. B. Thesis: *The Development of the Corporation in England in Relation to the Sentiment of Antagonism.*

Frank George Franklin, L. B. Thesis: *Naturalization in the United States, with Especial Reference to its Legislative History from the Declaration of Independence to the Civil War.*

John Morris Gillette, A. M. Thesis: *The Culture Agencies of a Typical Manufacturing Group, South Chicago.*

Norman Dwight Harris, Ph. B. Thesis: *The History of Negro Servitude and the Slavery Agitation in Illinois.*

Robert Samuel Padan, A. B. Thesis: *Studies in Interest.*

John Olaf Sethre, A. M. Thesis: *The Political History of Minnesota Prior to her Admission into the Union.*

Edwin Erle Sparks, A. M. Thesis: *The Cumberland National Road as a Union-Making Factor.*

Columbia University.—Alfred Lewis Pinneo Dennis, A. B. Thesis: *Eastern Problems at the Close of the Eighteenth Century.*

Alexander Clarence Flick, A. B. Thesis: *Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution.*

Arthur Cleveland Hall, A. B. Thesis: *Civilization and Crime.*

Isidor Loeb, A. B. Thesis: *The Legal Property Relations of Married Persons.*

William August Schaper, B. L. Thesis: *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina.*

Louis Don Scisco, B. S. Thesis: *Political Nativism in New York State.*

Allan Herbert Willett, A. B. Thesis: *Economic Theory of Risk and Insurance.*

Edwin Campbell Woolley, A. B. Thesis: *The Reconstruction of Georgia.*

Columbian University.—William Hamilton, A. M. Thesis: *The Expansion of Russia to the Eastward.*

Chohel Shirasu, A. M. Thesis: *The Commerce of Japan and Its Relation to Civilization.*

Cornell University.—Nathan Austin Weston, M. L. Thesis: *A History of the Land System of the State of New York, with Especial Reference to Financial Administration.*

Georgia Laura White, Ph. B. Thesis: *The Part taken by Women in the Charity Work in Prussia.*

Harvard University.—Don Carlos Barrett. Thesis: *The Origin and Supposed Necessity of the United States Notes.*

Henry Camp Marshall. Thesis: *The Currency and the Movement of Prices in the United States from 1860 to 1880.*

Jonas Viles. Thesis: *The Privy Council of Elizabeth.*

Arthur Herbert Wilde. Thesis: *The Administration of the Schools of Gaul from the Fourth Century to the Reforms of Charlemagne.*

Heidelberg University.—Charles S. Haight, A. M., B. LL. Thesis: *Benedict Arnold—The Man.*

Johns Hopkins University.—William Elejius Martin, A. M. Thesis: *Internal Improvements in Alabama.*

University of Minnesota.—Adolph O. Eliason, A. M. Thesis: *History of Banking.*

Elias Rachie, A. M. Thesis: *Taxation of Quasi-Public Corporations in Minnesota.*

University of Pennsylvania.—Caroline Colvin, A. B. Thesis: *The Invasion of Bruce; and Its Place in Irish History.*

John Paul Goode, B. S. Thesis: *The Influence of Physiographic Factors upon the Occupations and the Economic Development of the United States.*

Henry John Harris, A. B. Thesis: *The Problem of the Small Industrial Producer in Germany.*

Lolabel House, A. M. Thesis: *The Twelfth Amendment.*

William Ezra Lingelbach, A. B. Thesis: *The Organization and Government of the Merchant's Adventurers.*

Roswell Cheney McCrea, A. M. Thesis: *Taxation of Transportation Corporations.*

University of Wisconsin.—Louise Phelps Kellogg, B. L. Thesis: *The Colonial Charter: A Study in English Colonial Administration.*

Charles McCarthy, Ph. B. Thesis: *The Anti-Masonic Party.*

Yale University.—Ernest H. Baldwin, A. M. Thesis: *Joseph Galloway—A Biography.*

Silas W. Geis, LL. B. Thesis: *The Colonial Agent in New England.*

Mary C. Hewitt, A. B. Thesis: *The Political Philosophy of the American Revolution.*

Jessie M. Law, A. B. Thesis: *Cromwell's Major-Generals.*

Eugene I. McCormac, B. S. Thesis: *White Servitude in Maryland.*

John P. Norton, A. B. Thesis: *Contribution to the Theory of Money and Credit, with Some Statistical Investigation of the Weekly*

Statements of the New York Associated Banks, Covering Twenty-two Years.

Alexander Pratt, Jr., A. B. Thesis: *Doctrine of Social Resistance.*

Peter Roberts, B. D. Thesis: *An Economic Study of the Anthracite Coal Fields of Northeast Pennsylvania.*

Clifford J. Thorn, LL. B., A. M. Thesis: *Principle versus Precedent.*

FOR THE academic year 1901-02, appointments to fellowships and post-graduate scholarships have been made in the leading American colleges, as follows:

Amherst College.—*Roswell Dwight Hitchcock Fellowship in History and Social and Economic Science*, Preserved Smith, A. B.

Bryn Mawr College.—*Fellowship in History*, Lois Anna Fornham, A. M. *Scholarship in History*, Ruthella B. Mory, A. B. Ph.M.

University of Chicago.—*Fellowships, in History*, Mayo Fealer, Elmer Cummings Griffith, Edgar Holmes McNeal and David Yancey Thomas; *in Political Economy*, Stephen Butler Leacock, Svant Godfrey Lindholm, Walter Dudley Nash and Robert Samuel Padan; *in Political Science*, Burton L. French, Augustus Raymond Hatton and Francis Mitchell McClenehan; *in Sociology*, Romanzo Colfax Adams, Edward Casey Hayes, Victor Lathrop O'Brien, Thomas Jefferson Riley and Howard Brown Woolston.

Columbia University.—*George William Curtis Fellowship in History*, James W. Garner, B. S.; *Schiff Fellowship in History*, Ulrich B. Phillips, A. B.; *University Fellowships, in American History*, Walter L. Fleming, B. S.; *in Economics*, Henry R. Mussey, A. B.; *in Finance*, Royal Meeker, B. S.; *in History*, David Y. Thomas, A. B.; *in International Law*, Samuel B. Crandall, B. S.; *in Sociology*, James M. Williams, A. B.

Cornell University.—*Fellowships in Political Economy*, Judson George Rosebush, A. B. and Harrison Standish Smalley, A. B.; *President White Fellowship in Political and Social Science*, Joseph Alexander Tillinghast, B. S., A. M.

Harvard University.—*Edward Austin Fellowship in History*, Francis Samuel Philbrick, A. M.; *Parker Fellowship in History*, George Hubbard Blakeslee, A. M.; *Ozias Goodwin Memorial Fellowship in History and Government*, James Augustus George, A. B.; *Henry Lee Memorial Fellowship in Political Economy*, Robert Morris, A. M.; *Robert Treat Paine Fellowship in Political Economy*, Andrew Light Horst, A. B.; *South End House Fellowship in Social Science*, Roswell Poulk Phelps, A. B.; *Toppan Scholarship in*

Classics and Political Economy, David Taggart Clark, A. M.; *James Savage Scholarship in Ethics and Sociology*, William Henry Lough; *Austin Scholarship in History and Government*, Everett Kimball, A. M.; *Thayer Scholarship in History*, William Stearns Davis, A. B.; *Townsend Scholarship in History*, Walter Lichtenstein, A. B.; *University Scholarship in History*, Waldo Gifford Leland, A. B.; *Austin Scholarship in Political Economy*, Carroll Warren Doten, A. M.; *Ricardo Prize Scholarship in Political Economy*, Roland Greene Usher; *University Scholarship in Political Economy*, Leon Carroll Marshall.

Johns Hopkins University.—*Fellowships, in History*, James Warner Harry, A. B.; *in Political Science*, Charles Oscar Paullin, S. B.

University of Missouri.—*Fellowship in History and Administration*, Minnie Organ, A. M.

University of Nebraska.—*Fellowships, in European History*, Carl H. Meier; *in Political Economy and Sociology*, Harry T. Johnson.

Ohio State University.—*Emerson McMillin Fellow in Economics*, Frederick E. Butcher, Ph. B.

University of Pennsylvania.—*Harrison Fellowship in American History*, George D. Luetscher, B. L.; *Senior Fellowship in American History on the Harrison Foundation*, Claude Halstead Van Tyne, A. B., Ph. D.; *Harrison Fellowship in European History*, James Field Willard, B. S.; *Harrison Fellowship at Large in European History*, Charles L. Burroughs, A. B.; *Harrison Fellowship in Economics*, William Backus Guiteau, Ph. B.; *Senior Fellowship in Economics on the Harrison Foundation*, Roswell Cheney McCrea, A. M., Ph. D.; *Harrison Fellowship at Large in Sociology*, Carl Kelsey, A. B.; *Honorary Fellowship in Sociology*, Charles William Augustus Veditz, Ph. D., LL. B.; *Harrison Scholarships in Economics*, Lewis E. Coles, B. S., and Arthur D. Rees, B. S.

State University of Iowa.—*Fellowships, in History*, Frank H. Garver, A. B.; *in Political Science*, Kiyoshi Kawakami; *in Sociology*, George L. Cady, A. B., and Milton L. Kephart, A. B.

University of Wisconsin.—*University Fellows, in American History*, Orpha Euphemia Leavitt, A. B.; *in Economics*, Selden Fraser Smyser, Ph. B.; *in European History*, Laurence Marcellus Larson, A. B.; *in Political Science*, Edwin Maxey, Ph. B.; *Alumni Fellow in Political Science*, Lewis Albert Anderson, B. L.; *Honorary Fellow in Political Science*, Yasugo Sakagami, M. L.; *University Scholarships, in American History*, Robert Carlton Clark, A. B.; *in European His-*

tory, Florence Beatrice Mott, A. B.; *in Economics*, Max Otto Lorenz, A. B., and Thomas Warner Mitchell, A. B.

Yale University.—*Eldridge Fellowship in History and Economics*, R. K. Richardson, A. B.; *University Fellowships in History*, K. Asakawa, A. B.; John B. Kelso, A. B. and William S. Robertson M. L.; *Robinson Fellowship in Social Science and Economics*, E. N. Tuckey, A. B.; *University Scholarships in History*, G. G. Benjamin, Ph. B., J. B. Chamberlain A. B. and C. H. Walker, A. B.; *in Political and Social Science*, F. R. Fairchild, A. B.; *in Social Science*, James E. Cutler, A. B. and T. Takahashi, A. B.; *Clark Scholarship in History*, S. D. Powell, A. B.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

PROFESSOR FRANK W. BLACKMAR, of the University of Kansas, has made a contribution to the literature of the Free Soil-Slavery Contest under title, "Charles Robinson, the First Free-State Governor of Kansas." This biographical sketch appears in pamphlet form in the Twentieth Century Classics Series.¹

THE PUBLICATIONS of the Bureau of American Ethnology are the admiration of ethnologists and sociologists the world over, and students in these fields look forward with interest to the appearance of each report. In the latest issue² there are two papers on the Amerind of the southwest. In the first, Mr. Cosmos Mindeleff tells of the Navajo houses, rare examples of the most primitive types of domestic architecture. Mr. Mindeleff has the geographic point of view, and it is gratifying to find him giving specific examples of the way in which a geographic environment reacts upon the institutions of a people. To quote him: "As the architecture of a primitive people is influenced largely by the character of the country in which they live, a brief description of the Navajo country is deemed necessary. Similarly the habits of life of a people, what a naturalist would term their life history, which, in combination with their physical environment practically dictates their arts, is worthy of notice, for, without some knowledge of the conditions under which a people live, it is difficult if not impossible, to obtain an adequate conception of their art products." The treatment of his topic shows that his position is well taken.

The second and longer paper is a report on an "Archæological Expedition to Arizona in 1895," by Mr. Jesse Walter Fewkes. In this expedition, which was undertaken to collect material for the National Museum, Mr. Fewkes obtained over five hundred examples of decorated mortuary pottery. The paper gives descriptions of ruins in Verde Valley and in Tusayan. In the latter place the great finds of pottery were made, and, judging by the magnificent lithographs in color, art in ceramics had made some remarkable strides among the women of ancient Sikyatki. The controlling element in the decoration was always symbolism rather than realism.

¹ Pp. 115. Published by Crane & Company, Topeka.

² Seventeenth Annual Report, Part II, Bureau of American Ethnology, J. W. Powell, Director. Washington, 1898.

M. B. CARY'S book, "The Connecticut Constitution,"¹ if somewhat tractarian in its tone, sheds a good deal of light upon certain old-fashioned features still adhering to the government of that state. The constitutional history of Connecticut is rather distinctive. The people of the state continued to live under the old English charter for more than forty years after the Declaration of Independence. Finally, in 1818, chiefly because of some provisions limiting religious liberty, a convention met and drew up a constitution which has survived to this day despite several well-organized attempts to return it to the crucible and recast it. It was the Connecticut Convention of 1818 which originated the method of amending state constitutions by the legislature with a subsequent vote of the people, and the same body made other historic reforms and modifications in our constitutional practice.

Now the time has come, it seems, when further change is necessary, and Mr. Melbert B. Cary, the author of this little study, is a strong advocate of an immediate revision of the constitution. The chief defect appears to be in the method of representation, and the system, we are told, is "without any support in reason, justice or common sense." It is a fact that there is in it little semblance of equality, and it is actually true that 15 per cent of the population can elect a majority of the representatives in the legislature. The representation is by towns. In 1818, when the constitution was adopted, these were rural communities while many now are large cities. No town may have more than two representatives and New Haven, Hartford and Bridgeport, containing more than one-fourth the population of the whole state, may send only six representatives out of a total of 252 to the lower house of legislature. A "rotten borough," called Union, polling 96 votes, has as many members as New Haven, which polls 15,309. There are several towns, it is said, in which every citizen has "run for the legislature once and they are now on the second lap." In the senate, which is sometimes spoken of as the popular branch, much inequality exists also. One county, Tolland, has one senator for every 12,000 people and New Haven city only one for every 62,000.

Mr. Cary notes other defects in the present constitution of Connecticut, the chief of which are that the governor and other state officers must receive a majority instead of a plurality vote; the excessive power of the legislature; unequal taxation, and of course civic corruption, of which no democratic community seems to-day to be quite blameless. It is sad to think that "of all the states in the Union not one is more notorious" in this respect than Connecticut,

¹The Connecticut Constitution. By MELBERT B. CARY. Pp. 140. Price, \$1.25. New Haven: The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co., 1900.

and it is a sweeping allegation to which many, no doubt, would not agree. Mr. Cary is a pamphleteer and he uses the words "iniquitous," "outrage," "despotism" and the like far too frequently for a scientific treatise. He has forcibly called attention, however, to grave constitutional irregularities in his state, and the conditions which he points to might be profitably studied in connection with that period of English history before the Reform bills were passed.¹

THE VOLUME of nine essays, by Controller Coler, of New York City,² contains much practical information with reference to administrative problems in our great cities, and numerous suggestions as to the remedies for present evils. The subjects covered are as follows: The City Charter, Public Charity, Charity Regulated, Income and Expenses, Water Supply, Transportation, City Development, The Church in Politics, Political Machines. The striking characteristic of the volume is its positive tone. Reforms are shown to be not only desirable, but practicable. The abuses of charity are cited only to teach the proper rules of control. The importance and the possibility of introducing business methods into city bookkeeping are demonstrated. The ability of the city to supply its own water is proved. A primary election law is proposed. Churches are exhorted to substitute education for denunciation. "The most indifferent voter may be made to take a new and commendable interest in public affairs if taught that he will be directly benefited by good government." . . . "The first step is to reach the man; the second to interest him, and the proof of the method is to hold his interest." The church should begin at the bottom as do the bosses, and establish social clubs, which "places should not be cold, cheerless, conventional lecture halls where superior knowledge is exhibited on a pedestal of pride and superiority. . . . Every man who crosses the threshold should be made to feel that no matter how humble his station in life, the public welfare is in some measure committed to his keeping."

THE MANIA for discovering precursors of eminent authors, which continues to be a favorite amusement for the historians of philosophy, was for a time equally popular among the historians of economic doctrine. Now, however, there seems to be a widespread conviction that the discovery of facts and the study of existing conditions is more

¹ Contributed by Dr. Ellis P. Oberholtzer, Philadelphia.

² *Municipal Government*. By BIRD S. COLER. Pp. 200. Price, \$1.00. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1900.

important than the laborious resuscitation of obsolete doctrinal errors. There are, nevertheless, periods in the history of economic theory which constitute so radical a change in the attitude of men towards their economic environment, that a detailed study of the leaders of opinion, and the new points of view which they represented seems perfectly justifiable. Thus, M. J. Desmars' recent volume¹ on Graslin, whom the author maintains is the most important, immediate precursor of Adam Smith, is of considerable interest to the economist. Certainly M. Desmars' book makes it possible for the student to familiarize himself much more readily with the work of the French critic of Baudeau, Turgot, Mirabeau and the other disciples of Quesnay, than if he were obliged to read Graslin in the original. From a merely literary point of view, Graslin's writings are intensely unattractive, but the emphasis he placed upon the economic factor "labor," and his sound advocacy of the inductive method, entitle him to be rescued from oblivion.²

IN "MOOTED QUESTIONS OF HISTORY"³ the author discusses twenty-seven subjects, in regard to which Roman Catholics have been aspersed, or have not received due credit. He attempts to state the facts, to give a just estimate, and to quote authorities to prove that his opinions are correct. The greater portion of the volume is made up of extracts from the so-called authorities. The book would be of more value if written in a less partisan spirit, and if the authorities had been selected with greater discrimination. Carlyle, Maitland, Stubbs, Comte, Cantù, Mosheim, Schlegel, Voltaire, Lingard, Dr. Johnson and many others are pressed into service. The result is interesting.

"THE CRIMINAL;⁴ HIS PERSONNEL AND ENVIRONMENT" is a scientific study by August Drähms, the Resident Chaplain of the State Prison at San Quentin, California, of an extremely interesting subject that has received in the United States better practical treatment than theoretical discussion.

Mr. Drähms brings to his task a vast amount of practical experience in this country with apparently a thorough familiarity with the best

¹ *Un Précurseur d'A. Smith en France: J. J. L. Graslin (1727-1790.)* By J. DESMARS. Pp. xxii, 257. Paris: L. Larose, 1900.

² Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. VEDRITZ, Philadelphia.

³ Revised Edition. By HUMPHREY J. DESMOND. Pp. 328. Price, 75 cents. Boston: Marlier & Co., 1901.

⁴ With an Introduction by Cesare Lombroso, Professor in the University of Turin, Italy. Pp. xiv, 402. Price, \$2. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900.

foreign literature on criminology. His work is the first attempt in English to present systematically and within reasonable compass the results of the new school of criminologists. He does this critically, because he is not in entire sympathy with the idea that there are universal criminal types and special criminal types, of which Lombroso and the Italians generally have made so much of late. The book is just such a one as many a teacher, who would like to present the subject in a short course, will want to use.

It is unfortunate to note a few slips in terminology, such as, for example, the use of the term "socialistic" instead of *Sociological*, which the author evidently means. Etymologically the word "socialistic" would be a better word, but unfortunately, in the connection in which he uses it, it is misleading.

The book as a whole, however, admirably supplements another book in the same general class: Wines' "Punishment and Reformation" which treats the problems of criminology chiefly from the institutional side, while the present work views them in their personal and individual aspects.

IN THE PREFACE to his little book on "Morals Based on Demography," M. Arsène Dumont¹ declares that his primary object is "to indicate a criterion of good and evil." His ethical science is based on demography, "which alone has the means of measuring the value of populations." The perfection of our statistical and other demographic methods will lead to a more perfect knowledge of the social consequences of certain kinds of conduct—such as alcoholism, for example.

In considering the ethical justification or condemnation of any particular habit, we must first study its ethnography, says M. Dumont; we must observe how different peoples—savage, barbarous and civilized—conduct themselves in this respect, and as far as possible discover how they reason with regard to their conduct. Such an investigation will have two consequences: first, to show the universality or localization of a custom; secondly, to demolish the prejudices which have been nurtured in us by education and environment.

Then, in the light of results shown by demography, we must establish what *should* be done, what are the advantages of one line of conduct and the evil consequences of the opposite behavior; these advantages and disadvantages, however, must not be estimated with regard to the individual, but with reference to the aims of society as a whole. The

¹ *La Morale Basée sur la Démographie.* By ARSÈNE DUMONT. (Bibliothèque des Sciences Sociologiques.) Pp. x, 181. Price, 3fr. 50. Paris: Schleicher Frères, 1901.

social purpose and chief aim is always the same : to possess the greatest possible population having the greatest possible value.

A certain line of conduct being recognized as advantageous, it is next necessary to find means for leading individuals to conform to it. If its reasonableness is made evident and comprehensible to the minds of all citizens, they will adopt it of their own accord. Constraint can only be made necessary by the resistance of individuals, and resistance can only result from their being insufficiently convinced.

This is, in brief, an outline of M. Dumon²'s rationalistic ethics. It need scarcely be pointed out that two of his fundamental ideas—that social good supersedes individual good, and that men need but to know what is good and they will do it—have long been, and still are, subject to debate.

"A SAILOR'S LOG—RECOLLECTIONS OF FORTY YEARS OF NAVAL LIFE,"¹ is written in a simple and interesting style. From the character of the composition, as well as the content, one might conclude that Rear Admiral Evans had in mind the American boy as a reader. Incidents are related that suggest the reflections of a hero writing at an age when the oft-told stories of younger days—the experiences that thrill and entertain—alone remain written on the fgment of memory. Beside stories of adventure, comment on the political situation and other men of his generation, may throw some light on events associated with the upbuilding of our modern navy. As to this part of the work, however, controversy is already begun and it remains for future research to demonstrate the correctness of the views of the sailor.

STUDENTS AND FRIENDS of municipal reform are glad that "Municipal Improvements"² is already in its third edition. Seven new chapters have been added, among which the author mentions the following as specially due to the progressing thought of the past decade: Elevated Traffic *vs.* Subways, Civil Service Appointments and Municipal Ownership. The book continues to be a serviceable guide to the public official whose entrance to positions of responsibility is so often due to political skill rather than to education in political needs or administrative methods. The author is essentially practical, and is most successful when stating uncontrovertible facts of a simple nature. Whenever he undertakes to present the theoretical aspects of disputed problems, the result is less satisfactory. The chapter on Municipal

¹ Pp. 467. Price, \$2.00. New York : D. Appleton & Co., 1901.

² *Municipal Improvements*. By W. F. GOODHUE. Pp. 207. Price, \$1.75. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1900.

Ownership, for example, does not indicate intimacy with either later theoretical discussions or practical applications. Especially commendable are the numerous tables which give the average reasonable cost of conducting the various departments in towns, as well as in small and large cities.¹

HALSEY'S "OLD NEW YORK FRONTIER,"² is one of the most readable books on local colonial history that has appeared in recent years. The work is scholarly throughout. As a history it is replete with biographical sketches of leaders in the pioneer movements in the settlement of the Empire State. The author has also woven into his account many incidents that lend interest. The writing bears evidence of research for the sake of truth, rather than from sordid motive. Too often state and local histories bear the stamp of commercial instinct, or of selfish devotion to ancestry and local pride.

"TUBERCULOSIS³ AS A DISEASE OF THE MASSES AND HOW TO COMBAT IT" is the topic of a prize essay recently awarded the international prize by the International Congress to Combat Tuberculosis as a Disease of the Masses, which convened at Berlin, May 24 to 27, 1899, and awarded this prize to Dr. S. A. Knopf, of New York City, through its committee on July 31, 1900.

This is a most compact, practical and generally helpful treatment of a problem in sanitation that has yet appeared. It should be in the hands of every worker in social settlements, charities and municipal movements. It is a book that can be wisely circulated in the homes of the masses of the working people. It is so well illustrated and so free from technical terminology that any one can read it without difficulty. The sanction which its doctrines have received from the foremost medical authorities in the world are sufficient guarantee for its scientific accuracy. It would seem, however, to the layman who is even partially converted to the practical expedience to counteract germ diseases, that Dr. Knopf has been overzealous in his advice concerning precautionary measures. If, however, even a small part of the sensible and thoroughly practical plans he proposes to combat the spread of consumption are adopted, there can be no doubt that his optimistic conclusions in regard to the ultimate eradication of this deadliest foe of the Anglo-Saxon race may be realized.

¹ Contributed by Dr. W. H. Allen.

² By FRANCIS WHITING HALSEY. Pp. 433. Price, \$2.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

³ Pp. 86. Price, paper, 25 cents; cloth, 50 cents. Published by M. Firestack, 200 West Ninety-sixth street, New York, 1901.

MR. KUHN DEDICATES his book¹ to the memory of his ancestors, George Kuntz and Hans Herr, pioneer settlers of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and his brief preface is dated Bern, Switzerland. He thus shows the inspiration of his work, first his reverence for his ancestors, and next his study of modern German historians, in whose pages he has found many evidences of the hard conditions under which in colonial times, Germans and Swiss sought refuge in America. The haven they found here gave them shelter, and helped them make their homes the birthplace of a generation from which have sprung many notable characters. Wisely limited to the colonial period, this book has the merit of being a brief and suggestive summary of the times and of the lives of men that gave to this country one of the best elements of its varied nationality. For many years "Pennsylvania Dutch" was a term of reproach, due largely to the bitter hostility evolved by their persistent loyalty to the Proprietary party, while Franklin and his adherents were trying to wrest control from the Penns. For years the Pennsylvania Dutch were charged with many faults, notably their hostility to education and to political and social progress, but all this has gradually changed; a large and growing literature is devoted to the praiseworthy part that German settlers have played in the development of a strong national life. Mr. Kuhn sketches the historic background, the wars and desolation that drove the Germans from the Rhine, the Palatinate and Switzerland. In the new world, Pennsylvania gave them a welcome, good homes and fair treatment. He sketches the hardships of their long and difficult journey—of their voyage across the ocean, their indomitable industry and frugality, and their rapid recovery from adversity. The prosperity of the counties where they settled bears evidence of their intelligence as farmers, as citizens, as fathers and heads of families and as church members. They clung to their language, to their religion, to their customs, with a fervor that found little favor at the hands of those who ultimately secured and maintained ascendancy here for the closing years of the eighteenth century. Their religious life is treated of in a chapter replete with useful details of their forms of faith and their adhesion to the tenets for which their ancestors had made such sacrifices at home.

"In Peace and War" is a chapter showing that from the hundred thousand Germans settled in this country before the Revolution, have sprung between four and five millions of the people of the United

¹ *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-called Pennsylvania Dutch.* By OSCAR KUHN, member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution, of the Pennsylvania-German Society and of the Lancaster County Historical Society. Pp. 268. Price. \$1.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1901.

States to-day, and at least two millions of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. Their numerical representation in the patriot army and in the conventions and congresses and other bodies that guided the Revolution to a successful issue, was in even greater proportion. An interesting appendix analyzes the German patronymics; an exhaustive bibliography and a good index enhance the value of the work.¹

MRS. ELIZABETH WORMELEY LATIMER does not pretend to study history seriously, and insists that her books should not be judged from too scientific a standpoint. This disarms criticism and leaves the reviewer little else to do than to comment in friendly fashion upon her collections of historical notes and anecdotes, and her naive, gossiping confessions regarding her historical methods and their many shortcomings.

Her last book on the closing years of the nineteenth century,² is a veritable *pol-pourri* of all sorts and kinds of information gathered from many sources, all of it interesting and most of it reliable. The point of view is strongly British, though at no time violently partisan, the tone is always optimistic, and the attitude one of appreciative sympathy for those of her characters in whom she has faith. A genial thread of satisfaction with her former books runs through the work and to them she frequently refers. There are, too, occasional threads of reminiscence and personal comment, so much of the latter, indeed, that a respectable account of Mrs. Latimer's life and family connections might be written from the information furnished in casual references and foot-notes.

The volume will doubtless have a wide sale among those who never take history any more seriously than does Mrs. Latimer. But such readers will obtain from this as from the other of Mrs. Latimer's books little idea of the great problems of the nineteenth century or the trend of present-day events. There is neither proportion nor perspective in her treatment, no sense of the relative importance of events, or of the reliability of her sources of information. Unity, continuity and movement are all lacking and events are selected for narration largely because they are interesting, while frequently facts are omitted or rapidly passed over because Mrs. Latimer does not understand their bearing and is incapable of explaining them. The most flagrant instance of this is to be seen in her remarks in the preface regarding Germany. To a query as to why she had not included a "Germany in the Nineteenth Century" in her series she

¹Contributed by J. G. Rosengarten, Esq., Philadelphia.

²The Last Years of the Nineteenth Century. By ELIZABETH WORMELEY LATIMER. Pp. 545. Price, \$2.50. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1900.

replies that she would have done so but that she had used up all her material in writing of France and Italy; that she was unwilling to say anything about the Emperor William II. because she did not understand him; and that inasmuch as the history of Germany since 1888 has been made up of nothing but factional struggles in the Reichstag and Reichsrath (*sic*, Bundesrath?) and of the activities and plans of the emperor she has omitted all mention of Germany in the present volume. Shades of German patriotism! a history of Europe in the nineteenth century with Germany practically omitted, when to the average German that same history for the last thirty years is the story of Germany with the rest of the world left out. But strangest of all is the fact that throughout this volume scarcely a word is said of the great commercial and industrial transformations taking place in the countries of the continent or of the mighty world conflict taking place among the powers. Mrs. Latimer should not even with apologies call her books History.¹

"FRENCH LIFE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY"² begins a series of special studies of the social and domestic relations of "Our European Neighbors." Much attention is given to details of home life and social intercourse among aristocratic and bourgeois circles. The author emphasizes two dominant characteristics, frugality and courtesy, and two dominating ambitions, to owe no man anything and to provide for a rainy day.³

VOLUMES THREE AND FOUR of McCarthy's "The Four Georges and William,"⁴ completes the series of writings covering a period of English history from Queen Anne down to Edward VII. The first publication in this series was "The History of Our Own Times." This was followed by McCarthy's "Gladstone." Volumes one and two, under the title of "The Four Georges," appeared some time since. In this latest series Justin Huntley McCarthy is associated with his father. The literary finish of these writings, the introduction of court gossip, of anecdote and interesting personality, all combine to make history entertaining. McCarthy combines with his broad understanding of political and social movements a sense of humor and an appreciation of romance seldom found in a writer. History is popularized, but at the same time it is made virile by the strength portrayed in all its parts.

The writer has a distinct bias on matters of religious controversy

¹ Contributed by Prof. C. M. Andrews, Bryn Mawr College.

² By HANNAH LYNCH. Pp. viii, 311. Price, \$1.20. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.

³ Contributed by Anna F. Brush, Chestnut Hill, Pa.

⁴ Pp. 349, 338. Price, \$1.25 a volume. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1901.

and imperial relations pertaining to Ireland. He is keenly sensible to the hardships suffered by his countrymen without properly appreciating the political necessities involved in the larger purposes of the nation. On the other hand, he is the more frank, and the better able to see the true character of many of the men and measures discussed, by reason of the absence of a blind patriotism which would avoid comment on relations harmful to imperial interests.

MONTGOMERY'S "LEADING FACTS OF ENGLISH HISTORY"¹ is so well known to both students and teachers that further comment on the content and merit of the work is unnecessary. The new edition brings the subject down to the death of Queen Victoria.

A NEW EDITION of "The Catholic Pioneers of America," by John O'Kane Murray, M. A.,² has appeared. The author has written from the Roman Catholic standpoint, and besides the dramatic interest of the adventures which it relates, his book rescues from obscurity or oblivion the noble deeds of many a hero who received from historians but a scant tribute of praise. Among many almost forgotten men we may mention Adam Daulac, who checked the advance of the fierce Iroquois and saved Montreal from an attack which would probably have been fatal to all the colonists of Canada. With but sixteen young Frenchmen and a few friendly natives (these dwindled to only four Algonquins towards the end of the struggle), he kept at bay twelve hundred Iroquois, and, when at last he and his companions had succumbed, it was found that they had killed one-third of their dusky assailants. This terrible loss of life deterred the Iroquois from continuing their advance, and gave Canada a breathing spell.

We wish the author, while praising with due enthusiasm the self-sacrifice of Daulac and the heroic valor of his pioneers, had been more severe in scoring the excesses of some of the conquerors of South America—Francis Pizarro, for instance. The reappearance of this work will probably revive old controversies and raise new ones; but when the testimony shall have been carefully sifted, the history of this heroic but blood-stained period will be more complete and more thoroughly understood.³

IN HIS "Administration d'une Grande Ville" (Londres),⁴ M. Joseph Nève, Advocate of the Court of Appeals of Ghent, has given us a

¹ Pp. 420, 79. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1901.

² Pp. xiv, 434. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: H. L. Kilner & Co.

³ Contributed by Rev. R. I. Holand.

⁴ *L'Administration d'une Grande Ville (Londres)*. By JOSEPH E. NÈVE. Pp. 276. Gand, Société Anonyme, 1901. (*École des Sciences Politiques et Sociales de Louvain*.)

very readable account of London's present city government. The standpoint of the author throughout is that of the continental administrative official, a fact which gives the brochure its chief interest to English and American readers. But he is far from being incapable of understanding the genius of English local political institutions as his frequent references to recent political movements in London abundantly show. The treatment of the private water and gas companies of London co-ordinately with the various branches of the local government, reveals the continental point of view of the writer, though few of his readers in England and America would regard its inclusion as unessential to the study. A chapter on the London Government Act of 1899 brings the work thoroughly up to date. The outline map, showing the principal administrative districts of London, and a brief bibliography, containing the usual number of errors made by compositors in dealing with foreign titles, add considerably to the value of M. Nève's study.¹

OPINIONS MAY differ as to what constituted the chief departments of human activity in the nineteenth century, but there can be no doubt that a list which omits organized religious effort and the relations between church and state has failed to take into account a phase of human activity that had something more than a negative influence. In "The Nineteenth Century, a Review of Progress,"² a series of essays originally printed in the New York *Evening Post*, the most striking feature is the omissions. No one can find legitimate fault with the essays that are produced; all are good, some are admirable, notably those of Professors Munro Smith, on Germany; Heilprin, on geographical exploration; Hadley, on railroad economy; Carter, on higher education, and the various scientists on their respective subjects. But a work that pretends to cover nineteenth century progress and says nothing of the progress of organized religion, of law, except international law, of jurisprudence, of constitutional systems, except that of the United States; that includes under Sociology essays on explorations, the gold standard, steel manufacture, libraries, life insurance, woman's rights, and says nothing of social progress, the relation of classes, of capital and labor, of industrialism *versus* agrarianism, or of individualism *versus* state socialism; that under History deals only with England, Germany, Russia,

¹ Contributed by Robert C. Brooks, Cornell University.

² *The Nineteenth Century, A Review of Progress during the Past One Hundred Years in the Chief Departments of Human Activity.* Pp. 494. New York; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.

Canada, Mexico, China and Japan; that has an essay on Russian expansion and none on British, an essay on British internal history, but none on Russian, that omits entirely Australasia and in general leaves out any adequate review of political, social, constitutional and commercial progress, can hardly be said to justify its title. What has been done is well done; but the editorial plan has either failed of execution or was faulty in its conception, while the editorial selection and distribution is slipshod. Why should "steel manufacture" and "gold standard" be classed as Sociological, or "printing" as Applied Science? It would have been better had the group divisions been omitted entirely, and the essays printed without classification under some such modified title as "A Few Aspects of Nineteenth Century Progress."

THERE HAS RECENTLY been a tendency among the diverse factions of French socialists to unite upon some common doctrinal basis and make a more systematic effort to secure the political influence to which their total numerical strength would entitle them. Though they are apparently willing to overlook differences in doctrine, it would seem that the problem of party tactics and, to a still greater degree, the circumstance of personal likes and dislikes, keeps them apart and makes a preconceived uniformity of conduct impossible.

The first national congress, held in December, 1899, was the beginning of the realization of a scheme for united action—a modest, feeble beginning, it is true, but, nevertheless, a beginning sufficient to encourage the hope of some day approaching the discipline and solidarity of the German Socialist party. This hope, however, has been shattered by the second French Congress of Socialist Organizations, held in September, 1900. The official stenographic report² of its meetings is filled with purposeless discussions of side-issues and with personal abuse varying in intensity from the employment of such epithets as "coward" and "assassin" to actual blows.

Of all the congresses held during the Paris Exposition, and there were many,—this one, the avowed purpose of which was to establish solidarity and harmony, stands pre-eminent for tumultuousness and discord. To restore order and permit the warmth of debate to subside it was necessary on one occasion to suspend the meeting for twenty minutes. It is only fair to add, however, that a committee was appointed to prepare "a project for the complete unification of the party."

¹ Contributed by Professor C. M. Andrews, Bryn Mawr College.

² *Deuxième Congrès général des Organisations socialistes françaises tenu à Paris du 28 au 30 Septembre, 1900. Compte rendu sténographique officiel.* Pp. ix, 389. Price, 3 fr. Paris: Librairie Georges Bellais, 1900.

The International Socialist Congress, at which twenty-two nations were represented and which immediately preceded the French congress, offered a strong contrast to the latter, inasmuch as its proceedings, according to the official report¹ were expeditious, business-like and peaceful. Ever since the exclusion of the anarchists from these congresses, the elements of discord which formerly characterized them have disappeared. One of the most important resolutions passed was that providing for the organization and support of an international socialistic labor bureau, to keep the socialist parties of the various nations in constant touch with one another, to publish reports on labor questions of international importance, and to perform the preliminary work incident upon each international congress of socialists. Brussels was chosen as its location. The bureau has also been authorized to collect books, documents and reports bearing on labor problems.

Resolutions were passed in favor of international legislation providing for an eight hours' day and a minimum wage; in favor of the socialization of the means of production; in condemnation of standing armies and colonial expansion; in favor of the organization of maritime laborers; advocating universal suffrage and direct popular legislation; in favor of municipal socialism; recognizing that trusts are the inevitable consequence of the present productive system.²

It is *SELDOM* that a book, covering such a wide range of subjects of popular and scientific interest as does "The Progress of the Century,"³ is ably written and edited. Such works are usually published by subscription companies, are catchy, spectacular and misleading. Harper and Brothers have recognized the demand for a first-rate resumé of the progress made in the last hundred years. They have selected many eminent writers in their respective fields to do the work. Names like Alfred Russel Wallace, William Ramsay, William Mathew Flinders-Petre, Sir Joseph Norman Lockyer, Thomas Convin Mendenhall, Captain Alfred T. Mahan, and Cardinal James Gibbons give authority and unusual interest.

Nearly every department of science and material progress is included. The style is simple and direct, such as will appeal to the general reader. The work will do much to popularize science, and drive out of the market the trash that is being circulated by irresponsible and unreliable publishing and distributing agencies.

¹ *Cinquième Congrès Socialiste International tenu à Paris du 23 au 27 Septembre, 1900. Compte rendu analytique officiel.* Pp. 121. Price 1 fr. 25. Paris, Librairie Georges Bellais, 1901.

² Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, Philadelphia.

³ Pp. 583. Price, \$2.50. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1901.

MRS. ST. JULIEN RAVENEL, in her "Life and Times of William Lowndes, of South Carolina, 1782-1822,"¹ has made a distinct contribution to American biography. Lowndes took a prominent part in the affairs of both nation and state. In portraying the life of the man she has given a lively historic setting. The relations of North and South as well as the international controversies of the time are woven into the work in an interesting manner.

THE "LIBRARY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES" published at Milan has recently been increased by a suggestive volume² on state socialism from the point of view of legal philosophy. The author traces the evolution of modern socialism and individualism, with special reference to the problems of ethics and of legal organization which these theories involve; he points out that the economic doctrines of modern socialism are in the main the logical outcome and development, the continuation, as it were, of classical political economy. There is a strange parallelism between Ricardo and Karl Marx, between Quesnay and Henry George, between J. B. Say and Saint-Simon.

Various theories concerning the complex problem of the primary, fundamental factors of social evolution, are discussed in the first part of the book, which also characterizes the attitude of the "organic," biological school of sociologists towards the increased sphere of state activities in the interest of social peace and the prevention of class conflicts. There is also an examination of the economic interpretation of history as proposed by Marx, Loria and others. The second part is devoted to a consideration of the points of difference between "utopian" and "scientific" socialism; utopian socialism preaches an ideal, a state of affairs which is ethically desirable and which we should consequently strive for; while scientific socialism is positive and propounds a law of economic and juridic evolution, not a scheme of social reform. Part III contains a detailed account of the tendencies in the history of social philosophy which have contributed to the development of the idea of state socialism (Holbach, Hegel, Leroux, Blanc, Dupont-White, Sismondi), particularly the doctrines of the German historical school of law (Savigny, Ahrens, Gans, Lassalle).

The author concludes with a sketch of various criticisms of the social activity of the state and of the theory of state intervention, beginning with the views of Kant and the eighteenth century phi-

¹ Pp. 249. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901.

² *Il Socialismo di Stato dal punto di vista della filosofia giuridica*. By F. EMERDOLCE RASTIVO. Pp. xiv, 410. Price, 3 lire. Milano-Palermo: Remo Sandron, 1900.

losophers, and terminating with Spencer and Nietzsche. The book as a whole is historical, comparative and critical, rather than positive or doctrinal.

M. DE ROUSIERS, in his "*La Vie Américaine, l'Éducation et la Société*,"¹ reaches the following conclusion: "The world seems to be divided to-day into two very distinct groups, one placing its hope on individual effort, uniting its forces only when necessity demands, following forms of union varying with the needs of the moment, staking everything on private initiative, and dreading restraint; the other, on the contrary, placing its confidence in collective effort, in administrative groups, permanent, difficult of transformation, depending on regimentation, and fearing above all things the initiative of the individual will." He then proceeds to ask the question, "To which of these two groups will the future belong?" He answers it as readily, "The future belongs to the race in which man, freed from all useless fetters, and trained by individual effort attains the maximum of intensity in that effort. This will be true, not only in the material world, but also in the moral."

The author is a shrewd observer, has traveled widely in America and has an insight into our social conditions which is rare for a foreigner. He notices at the outset the great freedom our education and home life give to our boys and girls, encouraging individual initiative from the start. He sees the strenuous life in every phase of our daily routine, and calls attention to the fact that we even go on our last voyage to the cemetery "au trot."

He sees clearly that the wealthy and "progressive Yankees form a natural aristocracy which plays an effective rôle in the social constitution of the American democracy. Thanks to them the United States continues in its progressive march in spite of the politicians."

Seeing as he does our political corruption, he is no pessimist, for he sees at the same time that American society is better than its politics, and that when this natural aristocracy shall transfer a share of its attention from business to politics abuses will begin to disappear.

The widespread undercurrent of religious feeling is apparent to him, which even respects the street corner performances of the Salvation Army, yet he is struck with an equally extended indifference to religion, for he says: "Nine times out of ten an American, speaking of religious questions, says with simplicity, 'I belong to no church.' " He sees in the Protestant churches all the elements of efficient social clubs, but is inspired with no religious feeling in their perfectly appointed buildings.

¹By PAUL DE ROUSIERS, pp. 336. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie.

The author finds quite a number of economic disorders, such as the instability of employment, indifference of patrons to workmen, abuse of speculation, the presence of trusts, the fact that divorce is carried to a form of "legal prostitution," the government too largely in the hands of unscrupulous politicians and justice badly administered,—yet he judges a society not by its evils, but by the force of the resistance opposed to the evils. And in this force of resistance he finds an equally large list of virtues: a great aptitude to surmount crises, discouragement practically unknown. "To be and remain American one must consider life a struggle and not a pleasure." "That which makes the American a success, that which constitutes his type—is his moral courage and personal energy—an active, creative energy."

"In social development the progress of the United States is an example and a lesson. The Americans are not behind the Europeans; it is not they who should come to us, but we who should go to them." "There is a newness in the methods of labor, in commercial relations, in the system of education, in government, and in international relations." All this makes pleasant reading. The book is to be recommended as an antidote for pessimism.¹

ANOTHER WORK is added to the fast-growing historical literature of Texas. "The Evolution of a State, or Recollections of Old Texas Days"² records the personal reminiscences of Mr. Noah Smithwick. The story begins while Texas was under Mexican rule, 1827, and ends in 1861, when the author moved to California. Its value is found in its vivid narrative and description of pioneer life.

A THOROUGH AND AUTHORITATIVE survey³ of social administration in Austria, at the end of the nineteenth century, has been published in two large volumes by the Austrian Ministry of the Interior for the recent Paris Exposition. The first of these volumes, bearing the sub-title "Social Economy," treats of the public insurance of laborers against accidents and sickness, labor contracts, industrial statistics, co-operative labor associations, the condition of laborers in the employ of the state, the status of agricultural laborers, agricultural credit, savings banks, and the housing of laborers. The second

¹ Contributed by Dr. J. Paul Goode, Illinois State Normal School.

² Pp. 340. Price, \$1.50. Published by the Gammel Book Co., Austin, Tex.

³ *Soziale Verwaltung in Oesterreich am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Aus Anlass der Weltausstellung Paris. 1900 herausgegeben. Band I. Socialökonomie. Pp. ix, 725 (not numbered consecutively). Price, 24 m. Band II. Hygiene und öffentliches Hilfswesen. Pp. x, 455 (not numbered consecutively). Price, 16 m. Wien and Leipzig (Deuticke), 1900.

volume, entitled "Hygiene and Public Assistance," treats in the main of sanitary problems, the laws regulating the practice of medicine, special institutions for convalescents, the blind, the insane, the deaf and dumb, etc., the care of the poor, pawn-shops, alcoholism, epidemics, mortality statistics, Austrian systems of public water supply, and regulations concerning food adulteration.

Many of these sections are contributed by well-known authorities in each field, such as Dr. Victor Mataja, Professor Philippovich and Dr. Schullern-Schrattenhofen. The names of such men as these are a guarantee of the high standard of the work as a whole, which it is of course impossible to analyze in a short notice. It may be stated, however, that every section is brought up to date and treated with a thoroughness, compactness and wealth of statistical material which should make these volumes invaluable to the student of economic and social conditions in Austria. The experiences of Austria in such matters as the organization of bureaus of labor statistics, the regulation of credit operations among farmers, the improvement of laborers' homes in cities, and the combat against alcoholism, form valuable object-lessons for other countries.

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR, the author of "Ancient Ideals," has continued his task in a volume entitled "The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages."¹ He attempts to show how classical methods of thought and presentation changed and developed into the mediæval. He is mainly concerned with the period extending from the fourth to the seventh centuries. This work is a logical continuation of "Ancient Ideals" and is marked by the same excellencies. It is impossible to indicate its many merits in a brief notice. The value of the book would be enhanced by a recapitulation summarizing what the mediæval world retained of the classical elements and how it transformed them. A full and excellent bibliographical appendix will enable students to follow out any subject in which the book has stimulated interest, as it is certain to do along many lines.

ONE OF THE essential arguments in Karl Marx's system of "scientific" socialism is the declaration that wealth is everywhere and constantly being concentrated in the hands of a few—that while the mass of capital is increasing, the number of its possessors is decreasing. The growth of colossal enterprises, factories, trusts, large stores, is evident even to the most superficial observer of economic evolution. Marx, however, maintained that the same law of concentration is as

¹ Pp. xv, 400. Price, \$1.75, net. New York: The Columbia University Press, The Macmillan Company, Agents, 1901.

valid in agriculture as in industry and commerce; and it is especially upon this point that many economists have joined issue with him. Indeed, this feature of the socialistic doctrine has not only caused much theoretical discussion, but it has likewise been a serious impediment in the way of socialist propaganda in countries like France, where small land holdings are prevalent, and the abolition of private property in land is no welcome creed.

M. Emile Vandervelde has in his latest book¹ undertaken the study of this question so far as Belgium is concerned. He is a socialist of the school of Marx and is consequently disposed to admit the validity of arguments, in favor of the socialistic claim, which an unprejudiced investigator will accept only with a grain of salt. His conclusions, moreover, though they may be perfectly true for this country, cannot be generalized as a universal economic law.

In a series of monographs forming the first part of his book, and devoted to the various provinces of Belgium, M. Vandervelde investigates the origin of large estates, and the traces of feudal and ecclesiastical ownership. In the last part of his book, he gives a decided affirmative answer to the question: Is property in land concentrating with the rapidity which certain (mostly socialistic) authors claim? But it should be objected that the simple increase, during the past fifty years, of the number of those who possess no land, is by no means a convincing argument for the thesis that the average size of estates has increased. Happily for M. Vandervelde's reputation as a scientist, his other arguments are better than this. His book will no doubt be read with great interest by students anxious to test the validity of economic theories by comparison with the facts of economic evolution observed in Belgium.²

JUDGE WAITE has recently published a fifth edition of his well-known "History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two Hundred."³ In its main outlines it is unchanged from the preceding edition, but it contains about one hundred more pages. The chief additions are discussions in the appendix as to whether Jesus was an Essene, and as to the origin of the inquisition. The former the author answers affirmatively; the latter he derives from the teachings of Paul as interpreted and amplified by Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine. The work has not been revised in the light of our present knowl-

¹ *La Propriété foncière en Belgique*. By EMILE VANDERVELDE. Pp. 327. Price, 10 fr. *Bibliothèque internationale des Sciences Sociologiques*. Paris: Schleicher Frères, 1900.

² Contributed by C. W. A. Veditz, Ph. D., LL. B., Philadelphia.

³ By C. B. WAITE, A. M. Pp. xxvi, 556. Price, \$2.25. Chicago: C. V. Waite & Co., 1900.

edge; e. g., Judge Waite is apparently ignorant of the discovery of the "Gospel according to Peter," which he discusses as a lost document. In many places he betrays the fact that he has not kept up with the progress of the last decade. But many will welcome a new edition of a work which aroused so much interest, found so many admirers and excited such keen animosity.¹

REVIEWS.

La Génesis del Crimen en Mexico. Estudio de Psiquiatria Social.

By JULIO GUERRERO. Mexico and Paris (Bouret), 1901.

There is so great a dearth of literature bearing upon social conditions in the Valley of Mexico that we are inclined to consider any book upon the subject as a valuable contribution, and, as in the case of gift-horses, to refrain from being critical. The present book, however, despite certain faults of structure, and a certain laxity of statement, is an acute and masterly analysis of certain phases of social conditions in Mexico, and for that reason does not require any special leniency of judgment.

The chief factor in moulding the character of the inhabitants of the City and Valley of Mexico is stated to be the high altitude. The very great elevation of this plateau, combined with its tropical situation, causes an extreme rarification of the atmosphere and a great diminution in the amount of oxygen contained in a given volume of air. This has led to an organic laziness upon the part of the inhabitants, to a confirmed quietism and a consequent distaste and contempt for work. To the same cause Guerrero assigns the lack of civic valor, the political quiescence in the face of governmental or private oppression. The enervating effect of an extremely rarefied atmosphere is aggravated rather than assuaged by an excessive use of stimulants, notably of alcohol, coffee and tobacco, and in the dry season, the nervous tension becomes so great that no action is felt to be extravagant or extraordinary. In the dry season the nervous excitability of the inhabitants of the plateau is at its height, and for these months the statistics of crimes, especially those against persons, to which Mexicans are peculiarly liable, are considerably greater than during the rainy season of the year. To this nervous tension under which people on the plateau live, and which all physicians attest, Guerrero attributes in great measure the prevalent tendency toward hysteria, especially on the part of the women, and the strain of melancholy, which is reflected in all the poetry, music and art of the Mexicans.

In the second part of his book Guerrero deals largely with the effect of the nature of the territory upon the development of civiliza-

¹ Contributed by Professor Dana C. Munro, University of Pennsylvania.

tion on the plateau, and it may be said that from this point on, he almost entirely loses sight of his subject and incontinently wanders into frequent digressions, which though interesting, are not justified by the title of the book. In the part dealing with the territory of the Republic, the author shows how the policy of the Spanish Government to turn Mexico into a series of mining camps led to the concentration of the people and of the wealth and intellect of the country into a few widely separated cities, between which there was none but the worst conceivable means of communication. This isolation led to a comparative barbarism in the smaller cities, and above all as regards the rural populations furthest removed from the capital, to a low civilization, to an anarchical and irresponsible local government and to abuses of all sorts, while in republican times it induced revolution and disintegration, as was seen in the case of Texas. In the cities where population grew largely from natural increase, and from a fear of the insecure conditions prevailing in the country, the supply of labor became greater than the demand, wages fell, alimentation became poor, the standard of life was not raised, the population became degenerate, and the number of crimes rapidly increased. In a series of brilliant chapters Guerrero describes the classes of the city population, from which the criminals are largely recruited, comparing them with the other and non-criminal elements of the population. Another interesting portion of the book deals with the clash between the Roman Catholic Church and the spirit of skepticism, and the effect of this conflict upon the morals of the population.

The book is valuable as a series of brilliant but semi-independent essays rather than as a unified discussion of a single subject. The author possesses an admirable style, has great insight, and as a rule, good judgment, but the book suffers from being structureless and invertebrate.

WALTER E. WEYL.

Philadelphia.

Government or Human Evolution, Individualism and Collectivism.

By EDMOND KELLY, M. A., F. G. S. Pp. xv, 608. Price, \$2.50.
New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1901.

The second volume of Mr. Kelly's work consistently follows out the methods and purposes of the first. The word "Government" in the title is not descriptive of the contents of the book, if the ordinary acceptance of that word be understood. However, it approaches nearer to a description of the contents of this volume than of the first, when allowance is made for the peculiar sense in which the word is used. Government covers "the whole field of human interference

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with nature" (p. 8). It is necessary to recall that Mr. Kelly devoted a large part of his first volume to the thesis that Nature is cruel and generally stands in the way of man's progress, while the mind of man is not a part of nature and is engaged in incessant conflict with it (Cf. Vol. II, Bk. I, Ch. 2, Sec. 4). Government is thus taken to include the whole field of man's conflict with nature, whether in the thought of the isolated individual or in the family or in voluntary associations or in what are termed "governments" in ordinary language. The idea of compulsion is usually associated with government; nor does Mr. Kelly hesitate to recommend compulsory measures. But he nowhere attempts to draw a line between self-control and compulsion, nor does he even make any technical use of the technical definition he has assumed for the purpose of giving a definite title to his book. On the contrary, the method and style are essentially popular, and, with the exception of the peculiar definitions of "natural" and "just," words are used in their popular sense.

The second volume is intended to show that the course of history so far has resulted in little progress, that all of the apparent advances have been lost again, and that such will continue to be the fate of mankind so long as it acts in accordance with nature (pp. 69, 70, 92, 93, 151). The latter and by far the larger part of the volume is devoted to an indication of what the author considers to be the proper social and economic arrangements whereby man may triumph over nature and attain to justice. In a general way it must be said that a better plan than the author's may be read into his book, and that the mere appearance of a book dealing with the domination of mind over matter shows tendencies in the right direction. Those tendencies, however, are very different from what the author imagines them to be. He pictures to himself a static society. Like other socialists he has made little advance upon Sir Thomas More. What these volumes really prove, if they prove anything, is that progress lies rather in a more psychic direction, and that it is motion that we need rather than a fixed condition. But this is far from the author's thesis.

The way in which he has involved himself by his peculiar terminology of "natural" and "just" is highly interesting. Everything turns on the distinction between the natural and the non-natural or the mental, and with the exposition of this distinction the author feels that his work is finished. It is not necessary to show that there is any law of the action of the human mind. It is merely sufficient to show that the mind is capable of acting and of controlling. If once we grasp firmly this power of the mind, we shall cease to be selfish, and there is no necessity for any analysis of how the mind works.

The utmost approach to an analysis of this mental or human "evolution," which forms the sub-title of the volume, is found in the statement that the non-natural force is "strange" and "inexplicable" (p. 180), and that it consists of elementary selfishness, found in certain natural automata, like the tiger, and of elementary unselfishness, found in certain other natural automata, like ants and bees, and that these two forces, under guidance of a higher mind or inner consciousness known to students of hypnotism, are tending with progress toward a medium type or equilibrium (p. 190). No explanation or analysis of this second and controlling mind is offered.

The first division of the volume is largely taken up with a "history of individualism." By this is meant a succession of extremely racy and well-written essays on the course of history, with a special view to the influence of the Mohammedan and Christian religions. This is by far the most readable part of the book and presents a keen criticism from the author's point of view. Mr. Kelly is apparently a gentleman whose personal associations would hardly lead him to revolutionary propositions. There is nothing, however, in his habit of thought to save him from the extreme conclusions of socialists. We must ascribe the moderation which usually tempers the logical severity of his conclusions to early associations that have taught him that after all we live in a competitive world. He makes some very sane and temperate statements and gives some excellent partial analyses, *e. g.*, "For when ferocity discovered that its rights in the product of labor were respected, it tended by disuse to disappear; and when the servile automaton recognized that the more it labored, the more it enjoyed, there grew up in it a nascent selfishness which was to substitute for the unconscious altruism of the ant, the latter-day individualism of the working man. The struggle for life went on very much as before, but instead of tending toward opposite results in different races—toward ferocity in the carnivore and toward servility in the ant—it operated in the same species to diminish ferocity on the one hand and servility on the other; and to develop the social mind which conceives of society not as an end in itself to which the individual should be sacrificed, but as a means toward the development of the individual into a man and master of his fate" (p. 95).

Starting with the other members of the City Club of New York as a believer in *laissez faire*, the author was caused to right about face by contact with laboring men in the Good Government Clubs. The peculiarities of the socialistic mind are evident thus in action and in thought. The broad characteristics of socialistic thought are *statics* and *idealism*. Static thought naturally adopts the method of contrasts and ignores the method of continuities. The static process was at once in evidence

in the first volume. It is no less manifest in this volume. The keen criticism of past history does not relieve this volume from this imperfection. Dynamic thought is not destructive, it is essentially constructive; it explains a process of progress, it never describes an elysium. Static thought, on the contrary, jumps from a criticism of the past and of the supposedly static but really ever vanishing present, to a visualization of the opposite of the social facts criticised and condemned. Thus criticism raises up a contrasted ideal. Such visualization is necessarily weak, even when attempted by the philosopher equipped with the tools of dynamic thought; how much weaker it must be in the comparative absence of those tools, the two-thirds of Mr. Kelly's book that remain after the history of individualism, abundantly testify.

This portion of the book merely states, with some modifications due to what may be imagined to have been the author's advantages of early personal environment, the usual socialistic propositions for labor warrants, gradual absorption of monopolized industries, atrophy of bank organization, etc. In fact, he is in theory a communist and more than a communist, for the organic principles of distribution worked out with infinite pains by such objective philosophers as Alfred Marshall into a perfected system of analogy to equilibration, are wiped out as with a sponge.

The chief difference between the socialists and the economists consists in their definitions of "efficiency;" but Mr. Kelly will have nothing to do with efficiency at all, nor does he stop at the communistic conception that men are to be rewarded according to their needs. He goes further and claims that each person should receive the same income by physical standards. The argument in favor of this claim is that mental progress is assisted by favorable environment. Doubtless, as a general proposition, this is true; but it is also true that mental progress is under many and perhaps the majority of circumstances, retarded by an environment of carelessness and plenty. Of this complementary truth he takes no account. A little touch, showing how completely he neglects dynamic equilibria, is offered by his explanation of monasticism. Monks and nuns shut themselves up in order to escape from the evils of competition (p. 220). This doubtless was the reasoning of the church and he adopts it. In other words, collect a body of people of the same sex, shut them off from the world, give them plenty to eat, relieve them from care, and contrive, if you can, to get them to contemplate kindness and charity, and you will obtain as a result not only kindness, charity, and unselfishness, but progress and strong character! It must be said in justice to the consistency of Mr. Kelly, that the word "character" hardly appears

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in his volumes. It is perfectly apparent that character is developed by competition and a moment's reflection will show that kindness and unselfishness can only flow from strong character. He does indeed say (p. 186), "It became inevitable, therefore, that those who had most power became masters of those who had most willingness; and as the faculty of power coupled with selfishness, inevitably goes to make up the lowest type of individualists, so the faculty of power coupled with unselfishness, goes to make up the highest type of socialist. We have thus within the same community, two kinds of social mind, one of which is by nature equipped to enslave the other." Of course, the unselfish ones are the many: "The docility and unselfishness of the many have delivered them over to the imperiousness and eagerness of the few" (p. 186). Statements of this sort are apt to correct themselves, and we find on page 188 that "the human environment by showering its blessings on the few rich has reduced the multitude to a condition of poverty which tends to promote neither a high standard of intelligence nor a high standard of morality." Can the multitude possess a low standard of morality and yet be unselfish? We are told (note 1, p. 225) that "selfishness" is used in the popular sense, not in any technical sense. The evolution of unselfishness backwards from the rich to the poor is rather hard to work out, as a theoretical proposition.

Turning to Mr. Kelly's economic ideas, we find that he considers that it is possible to regulate wages effectively (p. 107); that he considers the individual to be ground down by the "tyranny of the market" (p. 111 *et passim*); that competition lowers wages (p. 113); that liberty of contract leads to industrial slavery (p. 214) (this statement is made with reference to trade unions. Suppose trade unions raise wages?); that competition causes wars (p. 124); that it keeps prices and wages also down. The wage-earners, however, obtain no advantages from the low prices (p. 126). He thinks that competition causes partial overproduction, not clearly distinguished in this case, however, from total overproduction: in other words, he holds the socialistic theory of crises, that it is necessary for undertakers constantly to increase production in order to lower prices in order to escape competition (pp. 128, 129, 131, 149, 159). Further, the theory that workmen can change from occupations in which there is a falling demand to those in which there is an increasing demand, is untrue (p. 133); cheap foreign labor can undersell domestic labor (p. 136); the attainment of the altruistic or collectivist state is hindered by competition (pp. 155, 199), by militarism (p. 151), and by corruption, (p. 164).

What the author says on the subject of corruption is interesting and well worthy of attention. He lays special stress on the point that

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"business interests make bad politics." It is doubtless this state of affairs in the city of New York that has thrown him clear over into ultra-communism as an ultimate ideal. He suggests that general education and enlightenment, accompanying his so-called collectivism, will cure corruption; but a more hopeful view of the case would be that education of the masses along the specific line of specialization of function is what is necessary in order to obtain civil service reform; and his elaborate collectivist machinery is nothing but straining at a camel in order to swallow the gnat of the merit system. Commercialism teaches selfishness (p. 195); in order to be free we must be economically free. Economic freedom, according to Mr. Kelly, consists in being sure of a living in return for four hours' work a day! Under the title "economic," the Standard Dictionary defines "economic freedom" as "a state in which one would not be obliged, in order to gain a livelihood, to do anything distasteful." Under this definition, is a man more likely to be free in Mr. Kelly's Collectivist Utopia or in wicked, competitive New York?

W. G. LANGWORTHY TAYLOR.

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Die Proportionalwahl in der Schweiz; Geschichte, Darstellung und Kritik. Von DR. EMIL KLÖTI. Pp. 480. Price, 6 marks. Berne: Schmid & Francke, 1901.

Switzerland, which is so often called the political laboratory of Europe, constantly puts the rest of the world under a debt of gratitude. The experiments which are going on in that compact little state may be studied profitably everywhere, and a democracy like our own can ill afford to close its eyes to the methods there being employed in the solution of great problems. No study in foreign government is likely to yield better returns to the investigator; and although the last few years have put us well forward in this work, we still have much to learn about the Swiss political system. The initiative and the referendum have claimed the attention of many students. Switzerland is pointed to by friends of proportional representation. The Swiss achievements in respect of this important reform are well set forth in the work under review. Dr. Klöti treats the subject with the greatest thoroughness and detail. He enters into each historical phase of the movement to introduce the reform in the various Swiss cantons. His minuteness, indeed, in this regard is so great that the book is made rather too ponderous for the foreign reader, and one yearns for a chapter somewhere which would bring the study into narrower compass. The work must for this reason have an interest that is in great

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degree local, *i. e.*, Swiss, although as a book of reference for students everywhere it will be of value.

The Swiss have not come to their present development in proportional representation without a struggle. For many years clubs and societies of reformers were actively making propaganda for a system which would give minorities a just share in the government. They have achieved success in eight out of the twenty-two cantons, and are busily planning to capture the others whenever opportunity favors it. Very recently the people voted upon a "double initiative" to reform the federal electoral system in this respect. Signers were secured in favor of the submission of two different constitutional amendments, which, if they had been approved in the referendum, would have introduced the proportional system of representation into the federal practice. The vote was taken November 4, 1900. There were 169,008 yeas and 244,666 nays at the polling. Three-fifths of the citizens and eleven and one-half of the twenty-two cantons declared against proportional representation. It is a curious fact that two cantons, Neuchatel and Solothurn, which already use the system in cantonal matters, disapproved. As far as the nation is concerned, therefore, the movement has had a setback from which it is not likely to recover for several years.

Dr. Klöti distinguishes several systems by which it is aimed to give representation to minority parties, not only in the legislative but also in the executive and judicial departments of the government. Minority representation in the strict sense of the term he looks upon as a compromise, and its defects are clearly pointed out. There are two principal methods by which minorities may secure representation, by the non-proportional system: (1) limited voting; (2) cumulative voting. By the first method every elector votes for a definite proportion of the whole number of candidates who are to be chosen as one-third or one-half. The minority then is guaranteed a certain representation though what number is given it is purely a voluntary matter. It presumes only two parties, and, in our author's opinion, lacks "necessary elasticity." By the second-minority system—cumulative voting—every elector may dispose of as many votes as there are candidates to be elected, but he may distribute them at will. While the first system is regarded as an artificial weakening of the majority, the second is an artificial strengthening of the minority. Cumulative voting is also not without its disadvantages, for if a party overestimates its strength and puts forward too many candidates, the minority may sometimes gain a representative in the government out of proportion to its rights.

It is in the true proportional system that the author puts his faith;

his explanation and defence of this system, especially as it has worked out in the Swiss cantons, fill many pages of the volume. He discusses Hare's system of quotients and eventual candidates, and concludes, as most others have done, that without modification, it is much too complicated. The Swiss have introduced these modifications and have put the reform on such a footing as to recommend it for general adoption in other countries. It would seem still to be far from simple, and it is doubtful if it will make very rapid headway in the United States until certain organic difficulties are cleared away. Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that we have lately made the most revolutionary changes in nearly all the states in the direction of ballot reform, and we seem to be on the eve of another great change, *i. e.*, from the paper ballot to the automatic machine. Ballot reforms touch only the surface. These reforms in the systems of representation go deep down to the root of the whole problem of suffrage. Is it fair and just that more than one-half of the electors should speak for the whole electorate? Would it not be more just and at the same time more expedient to give the various groups and parties in the electorate a representation in the government in proportion to their numerical strength? If this can be done conveniently and satisfactorily most people will favor the adoption of the proportional system of representation.

When only one officer is to be elected in a district as a governor in a state or a mayor in a city, it is manifest that the minority must be unrepresented. It is chiefly in the election of members of legislatures, councils and boards that proportional representation can be applied. The injustice of the present arrangement does not yet appeal to the great body of Americans. They are engaged in trying to correct other evils in the political body which press upon them more heavily. If there were powerful minority groups of socialists or ultramontanes or parties held together by ties of blood and race the injustice would seem more manifest. We may develop these and they may advocate proportional representation as a means of securing a voice in the legislatures, but the Anglo-Saxon solvent works so expeditiously in this country that our political differences are of other kinds.

"The present system," Dr. Klöti says, "is born of a spirit of intolerance. We do not feel it so in the manner and to the extent that it may be felt in some parts of Europe." It was Mirabeau who declared in 1789:

"Les assemblées représentatives peuvent être comparées à des cartes géographiques qui doivent reproduire tous les éléments du pays avec leurs proportions, sans que les éléments les plus considérables fassent disparaître les moindres."

This is an extremely democratic view born of the time of the French Revolution. Mirabeau and a large body of publicists not only in France, but also in America, in the latter half of the eighteenth century convinced themselves that all would be right if there were one large legislative assembly in which all classes were represented. No notion in government is farther from the truth. While it is desirable that the different classes should be properly voiced in the government it is a great deal more to the purpose that the representatives should embody wisdom, character and virtue in their own persons. They may represent whatever you choose, but if they do not have character within themselves, they will be of little credit to the constituency that sends them out or to the state in the larger sense. None of the world's great statesmen became great because he represented some particular faction in the electorate. Dr. Klöti is quite right, therefore, in his conclusion that it is self-evident (*selbstverständlich*) that proportional representation can create "no political Eldorado."

ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER.

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Histoire de France, depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution. Par ERNEST LAVISSE, publiée avec la collaboration de MM. Bayet, Bloch, Carré, Coville, Kleinclausz, Langlois, Lemonnier, Luchaire, Mariéjol, Petit-Dutaillis, Rebelliau, Sagnac, Vidal de la Blache. Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1901.

There has been no satisfactory history of France. It is not necessary to point out in detail the faults of the existing works; no one of them represents in any way the results of the careful study of the last decades. There was an imperative necessity for the history to be rewritten in the light of our present knowledge.

This task has been undertaken by Lavissee with the assistance of the able scholars named above. It will be published in sixty-four fasciculi, and usually two of these will be issued each month, except during the summer vacations. The complete work will consist of eight volumes of about 800 pages each or, rather, sixteen half-volumes of 400 pages each. The price is only six francs a half volume. Thus far one-half of Volume I, the second half of Volume II, and the whole of Volume III have been published. These four half volumes average 430 pages each. The whole work will be completed probably in 1903.

M. Bloch in Volume I treats of "The Origins, Independent Gaul, and Roman Gaul." Nearly three-fourths of the space is given, fittingly, to the last subject. In reading this volume we are impressed by the skill with which the author has succeeded in condensing an enormous mass of material into what is relatively so small a space.

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For instance, in eight pages he discusses very clearly and in detail the history, theory and system of direct and indirect taxation.

M. Luchaire has written the second half of Volume II and the first half of Volume III, which cover the periods from 987 to 1137 and 1137 to 1226, respectively. It would be a work of supererogation to point out his pre-eminent fitness for this task. By his previous study and writings he has made this field peculiarly his own. Volume II, part 2, is divided into two books: "Feudalism and the Church (eleventh century)" and "The French Renaissance (end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century)." In reading this volume the present reviewer has noted section after section as especially worthy of remark. But on running over his notes he has found that it would require a long review even to mention the subjects thus noted. The same statement is true of the two succeeding volumes.

Volume III, part 1, is divided into three books: "Louis VII.," "Philip Augustus and Louis VIII.," and "French Society (end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century)." The evolution of the Capetian monarchy is naturally the main subject and Philip Augustus is the central figure; to him 200 pages are given. The battle of Bouvines and its results occupy thirty-seven pages.

In Volume III, part 2, M. Langlois writes of the period from 1226 to 1328. The first two books discuss the political events from 1226 to 1285, and 1286 to 1328 respectively; the third book, about one-quarter of the volume, institutions and civilization. M. Luchaire has withstood temptation, and the heroic and saintly Louis IX. receives less space than Philip the Fair—as it is proper that he should. A quotation will illustrate the character of the last section of this volume, which is the most interesting. *Deux faits dominent l'histoire de l'activité intellectuelle au XIII^e siècle: la décadence de l'idéalisme et de la littérature artificielle, et le développement de l'esprit scientifique.*

Il y avait eu, au XII^e siècle, dans les écoles, une renaissance des lettres qui n'est pas sans analogie avec le mouvement plus célèbre, plus complet et plus fécond, de la Renaissance proprement dite . . .

Le XII^e siècle finissant avait paru désespérer de la raison: jamais les mystiques, contempleurs de la science et de la curiosité scientifique, n'ont été plus nombreux qu'au temps où l'école théologique du monastère de Saint-Victor de Paris fut dans sa gloire. Le XIII^e siècle, au contraire, le plus "intellectualiste" du moyen âge, a eu passionnément confiance dans la raison; il a essayé de savoir; il a voulu tout démontrer (p. 387).

All of the volumes are characterized by an extreme lucidity of statement, by a logical analysis which makes them easy to read and study. Cross-references which bind the various parts together are frequent

and are indicative of the careful editorial work. For each section a select bibliography of sources and secondary works is given. Thus this history becomes an invaluable guide to further study. There is a wealth of illustrative material from contemporary sources which emphasizes the general statements of facts. France is never treated as an isolated land, but its associations with the surrounding countries are kept constantly in mind. In particular much attention is given to institutions, literature, art, the life and thoughts of the people. The authors have succeeded in making the work *un tableau complet, bien que forcément abrégé, de la civilisation française*.

The most important defect, in our opinion, is that some statements, which seem open to doubt, are made absolutely and without reference to authorities. For example, M. Luchaire (Vol. III, part 1, p. 338) says: *À coup sûr, la corporation générale avait déjà son chef ou son directeur (capitale) en 1200, année où elle reçut du roi de France son premier privilège connu, car, dans cette chartre, Philippe-Auguste comprend évidemment sous le nom de scolares, tout le personnel de la grande école parisienne, maîtres et étudiants*. Rashdall and others deny that *capitale* in the privilege of Philip Augustus means the chief of the students, and hold that it probably refers to the chattels of the students. In this, and in similar cases, the statement stands in need of defence, or a foot-note should be given indicating that other authorities do not hold the same view.

Although the collaborators have been, as a whole, so well chosen, we miss the names of some French scholars who seem especially fitted to participate in this work. The volumes have greater unity because each is written by a single author, but occasionally we regret that some special topic has not been treated by the student who is best fitted to discuss that particular theme. Some subjects which seem pertinent have not been treated as yet, but possibly, as in the case of the history of Christianity in Roman Gaul, these will find a place in a later volume. As a whole the history thus far is worthy of the highest praise. It represents the most accurate scholarship of the present day and is an absolute necessity to every student of French history.

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Life of the Emperor Frederick. Edited from the German of Margaretha von Poschinger, with an Introduction. By SIDNEY WHITMAN. Pp. xiv, 460. Price, \$2.50. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1901.

In 1900 Margaretha von Poschinger published the last of three volumes devoted to the life of Frederick III., German emperor, and

embodying new information gathered from private and official documents. Of this work Mr. Sidney Whitman has issued an edition in one volume, omitting such portions of the original as seemed of little interest to English readers or savored too much of German patriotism. The result is a convenient and compact biography containing large numbers of original letters and papers, hitherto unprinted, and conveying an impression of the emperor's personality and political attitude that is in large measure new.

One-half of the volume is given up to purely domestic and personal details relating to the emperor's early life, his courtship and marriage, his historical and artistic activities, and his travels. Another quarter is given up to his military career. This leaves but a quarter of the work for a discussion of his political ideas and influences in which the reader will expect to find sensational revelations, if he has believed all the tales, which, as the outgrowth of the dramatic scenes of the emperor's brief reign and tragic death and the publication of his diary by Dr. Geffcken, have been current in the newspapers of the past thirteen years. But in this he will be disappointed. The book contains no "revelations." The reader will look in vain for evidence to support those traditions of the emperor's earlier career which accredited him with personal hostility for Bismarck, with attempts to thwart his policy, with a preponderating share in the erection of the German empire, or, in general, with the desire to inaugurate either openly or secretly a pro-English or parliamentary form of government. On the other hand he will find that Frederick, except when regent or emperor, though actively and eagerly interested in all that concerned the political welfare of Prussia and Germany, abstained at all times from interfering in affairs of state.

That Frederick had strong and definite opinions is of course to be expected. He was in the years of conflict in Prussia, from 1862 to 1865, a constitutionalist, distrustful of Bismarck and hostile to his policy; he was opposed to the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein by Prussia, and even after the close of the Danish war supported the cause of Augustenburg, largely on personal grounds; he voted against war with Austria, at the council meeting of February 28, 1866, and did all in his power to preserve peace; and at first objected to the revival of the imperial title. But after the Austro-Prussian war his attitude underwent a change; he upheld Bismarck in the latter's desire that Austria should receive generous treatment, joined him in persuading the king to issue a complete political amnesty, after 1867 gave up his opposition to the assumption of the title of emperor by the king of Prussia, and after 1869 abandoned his objections to Bismarck's policy for German unity. He became, in fact, the champion of imperialism,

declared that he was ready to assume all the added responsibilities that it might entail, and put forth as his political program "a powerful German empire under the enlightened government of the Hohenzollerns."

During the regency of 1878, though called upon to govern according to his father's ideas and often to act contrary to his own convictions, he maintained a strictly correct attitude, and only in his dealings with the papacy was he able to outline a personal policy. His influence in inducing William I. to sign the treaty of 1879 with Austria, commonly thought to have been considerable, is in this work reduced to a minimum, though the only evidence given by the author in support of her statement is the already known comments of Bismarck in his "Reflections and Reminiscences." The story of Frederick's three months' reign is simply told, without any attempt to rehearse the unhappy quarrels and recriminations arising from the emperor's sickness. A little space is devoted to the forced resignation of Bismarck's kinsman, von Puttkamer, because of official interference in the elections, but beyond that nothing is said. The book ends abruptly without summing up or general conclusion. But so ample is the information furnished in the body of the work that the reader is able readily to arrive at his own conclusions and to form, without further assistance, an admirable idea of the man whom the world has always admired and will admire none the less for this book.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Bryn Mawr College.

The American Slave Trade. An Account of its Origin, Growth and Suppression. By JOHN R. SPEARS. Illustrated by Walter Appleton Clark. Pp. xvi and 232. Price, \$2.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.

That history in which exact and painstaking scholarship is linked with a readable and interesting style seldom sees the light of day. One has usually the choice between a dry catalogue of facts and a "popular" treatise. Mr. Spears' book is distinctly popular, written in an easy, almost careless style and embellished with pictures, some striking and some curious, it is a volume which people will read. Its tone is high and the general impression given is a true one. Nevertheless one cannot help regretting that the element of scholarship was not more marked. There is a dogmatism about some alleged facts, an irregular massing of material and a lack of perspective and proportion in the work which is disappointing. For instance, we are told that "not one act passed by a colonial legislature showed any appreciation of the intrinsic evil in the [slave] trade or tended to extirpate it from

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the seas—not one” (p. 97); that it was wholly political policy, with no touch of philanthropy, that prohibited slavery in the new colony of Georgia (p. 96), and that Oglethorpe was “one of the most active participants” in the slave trade “known to his age.” Again, some chapters, like the one on the international phase of slave-trade suppression, are more like catalogues or extracts from a note-book than careful essays.

The most valuable parts of the work are the anecdotes and tales of the trade, which are attractively written and calculated to interest. Such chapters as relate to “Old Time Slaver Captains and Their Ships,” “The Slaver’s Profit,” “Tales of the Earlier Smugglers,” etc., are much more readable than the historical chapters. There is a dangerous blending of history and fiction in the book that makes the reader not always certain of his ground.

W. F. BURGHARDT DU BOIS.

Atlanta University.

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NOTES.

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

New York.—“*Consolidated Elections.*”¹ “Consolidated elections” is a term which has recently come much into vogue in the up-state districts of New York, and which is perhaps best defined by saying that it means the opposite of separate municipal elections. Until recently the city of Ithaca held its municipal elections in the spring. Ostensibly because of the extra expense involved in holding these elections separately, the Republican City Committee in the early part of this year called upon the assemblyman representing the Ithaca district at Albany to secure the passage of a bill “consolidating” or combining the city election with other elections. As it was understood at the time that the city election would be put in the fall of the odd years, and would thus be combined with the election of the short state ticket only, little or no opposition was made to this movement. But when the bill, which was of course a special measure and as such had to be submitted to the mayor and council of the city before final action was taken upon it, reached Ithaca, it was discovered that the city election had been shifted to the fall of the even years and would thus coincide both with elections for the full state ticket and with national elections.

Considerable opposition to the bill in its new form was immediately made manifest, and at a public hearing held on April 10, by the mayor and council, there was a very lively discussion regarding the bill itself, its origin and the circumstances under which the above-noted change was made. Those favoring the bill pointed out the saving to be effected by it, which was estimated at about six hundred dollars on each municipal election—no inconsiderable item in the budget of a city so small and with a tax rate so high as Ithaca. To the objection that city interests might be jeopardized if decision upon them were to be made at a time when the voters were under the influence of strong party feeling engendered by a hard-fought national or state campaign, the reply was that the voters of so enlightened a place were perfectly competent to keep the issues of the three-ringed political circus—national, state and municipal—sharply distinct in their minds and at the ballot-box. It was further argued that while the machine-led mass and the venal element could always be counted on to be on hand at any and all elections, there was, under the separate election system, a strong tendency among

¹ Contributed by Robert C. Brooks, Cornell University.

the best element of the city's voters to remain away from the polls during municipal elections, owing to the false notion that such elections are of small importance in comparison with state and national elections. This fact, it was claimed, gave the party boss greater power over the city under the separate system than he could hope to attain with combined elections.

The issue was decided in the council by a strict party vote and the bill has since received the signature of the governor. Similar movements have occurred recently in a number of other smaller municipalities in the state. Since most of these cities are normally republican, and since combined elections would usually favor that party in municipal affairs which had the larger regular following during national campaigns, there is more than a suspicion among those who uphold the separate system of elections that the movement was started "by authority."

New Orleans.¹—The wharves of New Orleans have for many years been leased to contractors who collected dues for wharfage and kept the wharves repaired, lighted and policed.

The lease has expired and the wharves have been placed under the management of a commission who propose to make New Orleans as near a free port as possible, and at the same time give good facilities for loading and unloading. The month of June, the dulllest in the year, is the first month of the new administration.

The following comparative statement shows earnings of the Board of Commissioners of the port of New Orleans from wharfage dues on vessels arriving during the month of June, 1901, and the amount that would have accrued to the wharf lessees from said arrivals under the former rates :

	—Wharfage Accounts—		Reduction.
	Old Rate.	New Rate.	
Sea-going vessels . .	\$17,658 56	\$10,155 55	\$7,503 01
Steamboats	1,048 32	786 24	262 08
Miscellaneous	692 84	519 63	173 21
Luggers	185 60	139 20	46 40
Transportation barges	1,033 28	774 96	258 32
Total	\$20,618 60	\$12,375 58	\$8,243 02

Wisconsin.²—*Municipal Charter Legislation in Wisconsin.* We have in Wisconsin what is known as the League of Wisconsin Municipalities. More than sixty cities, through their mayors, are connected with this organization. The city of Milwaukee stands in a class by itself and is not connected with the League of Municipalities. Our

¹ Contributed by B. R. Forman, New Orleans.

² Contributed by C. E. Monroe, Milwaukee.

cities generally operate under special charters, many of which are quite old. They date back to a time when it was easy to get the people out to vote and almost all of them provide for annual elections of mayor and aldermen. The powers of mayors are very limited. These features are true almost universally, but there are two cities—La Crosse and Oshkosh—whose charters give their aldermen a four years' term of office. In other features the various charters differ greatly among themselves. Feeling the disadvantage of these diversities in their organic laws and feeling also the weakness of many of their common features, an attempt was made to remove these disadvantages by means of a bill, which should be of uniform operation throughout the state. This provided for longer terms for municipal officers and added to the powers of the mayors. The first tentative bill was introduced in both houses of the legislature, and, when a discussion of its merits had shown its inapplicability to some of the municipalities affected by its provisions, a carefully drawn substitute was offered in its place. Curiously enough there were, in many quarters, objections to the extension of the terms of aldermen and mayors from one year to two. The final result of the effort of the League of Wisconsin Municipalities was the passage of an act extending the terms of elective administrative officers to two years.

Two bills were introduced in the Assembly which deserve mention. One of these proposed an amendment to that provision of the constitution of the state which limits the indebtedness of municipal corporations to 5 per cent of the value of the taxable property therein, so as to permit the incurring of additional indebtedness of 5 per cent for the purchase or construction of water or lighting works and such other public utilities as the municipalities may be authorized by law to own and operate. The bill was killed. The second bill, general in its application, was too novel and too good to succeed, and, consequently, suffered the fate of the other. It provided that "No ordinance for granting a franchise to perform a public service, or make use of public property, or for the extension of any existing franchise, shall be operative in any city in this state until after sixty days from the date of its passage; and if during such period of sixty days a number of qualified voters equal to 5 per cent of the total number of votes cast at the last preceding election in such city shall demand that the ordinance shall be submitted to a direct vote of all the voters, such ordinance shall not be valid or operative until it shall have been so submitted and approved by a majority of those voting upon it."

Another bill was introduced, the material section of which is as follows: "Power is hereby given to the common councils of cities and to the trustees of incorporated villages to alter franchises hereto-

fore or hereafter granted by such cities and villages to persons or corporations." The purpose was to put into the possession of municipalities a power of amendment of franchises which would enable them to overcome the plea of contract rights so generally urged by the donees of public grants. It was killed, of course.

A common provision of our municipal charters requires the publication of the terms of proposed grants of public franchises for a certain length of time in advance of action upon them by the common council, and where substantial amendments have been made in the original franchise, these also are required to be published in the same way. An effort has been made to do away with this requirement so far as it relates to the amended franchises, but this measure has failed to pass.

A certain class of bills, which is generally received with favor in our legislature, has met the unusual fate at this session of receiving the governor's veto after successfully running the gauntlet of both houses. These are bills through which the legislature attempts to interfere with local government by fixing or raising the compensation of local officers. A number of these were introduced at the present session, coming principally from the city and county of Milwaukee. The governor has put his veto upon the ground that matters, like these, of purely local interest should be decided by the local legislative authority.

Biddeford, Me.—Non-partisan Municipal Government.¹—Biddeford has a population of 16,500, about 2,800 voters and a valuation of \$7,000,000. The principal industries are the construction of cotton manufacturing machinery, giving employment to 1,200 men, and the manufacturing of cotton goods, in which about 3,500 people are employed.

Up to March, 1896, state and national politics entered largely into our municipal elections, first one party and then the other exploiting the city for party purposes. Contributions to the election fund were expected and received from party members, offices and profitable contracts naturally finding their way into the hands of the liberal contributors. Corruption at the polls and vote buying had become notorious. One man told me that he had helped put out \$2,200 in buying votes in one ward, and he thought the opposition had put out as much more in the same ward for the same purpose—that as much as \$100 had been paid for a single vote—and \$50 had frequently been paid. In the scramble, vote-sellers had come to number about 20 per cent of our voting population, while election days were noted for drunkenness and disturbances at the polls were not infrequent.

On January 31, 1896, according to our treasurer's report we had out-

¹ Contributed by Howard Hamilton, Secretary Citizens' Municipal Association.

standing notes and bonds amounting to \$486,300, or \$139,000 indebtedness beyond the legal limit of five per cent. In addition to the above, a large balance account was carried into the next year, and there were thousands of dollars worth of open accounts held against the city, the amount of which it took some time to ascertain.

In February, 1896, previous to our annual March election, a few of the leading men of both parties met to devise some means of ridding the city of the evils of partisan government, and formed a preliminary organization, which later became the Citizens' Municipal Association. This organization demanded that state and national politics should be absolutely eliminated from municipal affairs; that city officers be nominated and elected solely on account of their honesty and efficiency, and that municipal affairs should be conducted upon non-partisan and strictly business principles. The movement grew rapidly in numbers, nominations were made, equally divided between the best men of the two old parties, and endorsed by the Democratic party. After an exciting campaign, at an exciting election, the "citizen" candidate for mayor was elected by a good majority, while the ticket was elected in four of the seven wards, thus giving the "citizens" control of municipal affairs.

At the first inaugural of our "citizen" mayor he said in his address, "instead of a debt of \$486,000 we have a debt of nearly \$600,000, or 8½ per cent of our valuation." We were in condition to repudiate a large amount, but, to the credit of our citizens, repudiation was not thought of. It is not necessary to go into details as to the ways and means that were used to extricate the city from this predicament, but suffice it to say that every succeeding election has shown increasing faith in the principle of administering municipal government on a non-partisan and business-like basis.

In March, 1897, we re-elected our mayor by an increased majority and carried six of the seven wards. In 1898 and 1899 the "citizen" mayor was elected and all seven wards carried. In 1900, and again in 1901, there was no opposition to the "citizen" candidates, all officers of 1900 being re-elected in 1901. On January 31, 1901—the end of the fifth year of non-partisan administration—our treasurer stated in his annual report that the city's net indebtedness was \$355,400. Deduct this last amount from \$600,000 debt, as estimated by our mayor in March, 1896, and we show a reduction of our debt, in five years, of about \$245,000. During that same time the tax rate has been reduced 20 per cent.

In addition to the financial benefits that have been derived from this non-partisan movement, there are moral benefits resulting from the abolition of corrupt practices at the polls. Our example is being fol-

lowed by other cities of the state. Our neighboring city, Saco, has this year elected its first non-partisan city government, and the following towns in York County have also fallen into line and elected officers belonging to both the old parties, viz.: Old Orchard, Alfred, Lebanon, Shapleigh and Waterboro. It is proposed to extend this movement to the election of county officers.

Brooklyn.—*Special Legislation.*¹ The legislature of 1901 passed many bills affecting the city of New York as a whole, and a few measures applying exclusively to the borough of Brooklyn. Of the latter may be mentioned a bill providing for the depression of the tracks of the Long Island Railroad Company in Atlantic Avenue, partly at public expense. When Brooklyn was an independent municipality legislative authority for depressing the tracks was secured, but the expenditure of public money on the work was conditioned on the acquirement of a franchise for a tunnel to connect the existing terminal of the railroad with a point in Manhattan. There were difficulties in the way of getting the franchise, and the law was amended later so as to separate the track depression feature of the improvement from the tunnel scheme. Further amendments were proposed both last year and this. Mayor Van Wyck has vetoed all the amendments because he is opposed to the use of public money for the relief of the railroad. But the people of Brooklyn have insisted on the improvement of the street through which the railroad runs, and have persuaded the legislature to overrule the opposition of the city government. This is legislative interference from Albany at the earnest solicitation of the community interfered with. It is appeal from the home government to the government in Albany. The law as it now stands has removed all known obstacles in the way of improving the street.

Then again, the legislature has passed a bill providing for the opening of Bedford Avenue through a new district, on conditions different from those provided in the charter. The opened street will be something like a boulevard for the benefit of those who want to reach the sea by the most direct route. The owners of adjoining property thought that the city should pay a larger proportion of the cost of opening it and paving it with asphalt than was permitted by the charter, so they asked the legislature to provide that the city should pay two-thirds of the cost of the improvement. Again, in spite of the mayor's objections, the legislature granted the request of the interested people.

Charter Revision. The general revision of the charter has affected the borough of Brooklyn more than any of the special bills passed for

¹ Contributed by George William Douglas, Brooklyn.

specific purposes. Under the new charter, which is to go into effect next year, Brooklyn will have a greater degree of independence than under the old system of borough government. The borough president will be practically a commissioner of public works for the borough. He will appoint a commissioner of highways and a building commissioner, who will superintend the inspection of buildings and the laying of pavements. The local members of the Board of Aldermen will constitute a local board of improvement, and will have power to authorize various improvements, subject to the approval of the Board of Estimate and without consultation with the general Board of Aldermen. The plan provides for something like a confederation of municipalities rather than for an extremely centralized government. It is experimental and no one knows just how it will work in practice. There is hope, however, that it will facilitate the transaction of public business. While there has been decentralization in the exercise of the powers of the Board of Aldermen, there has been centralization of the control of the schools. There was strong objection to this plan in Brooklyn, and it is feared that it will not work satisfactorily because it puts the management of the local schools in the hands of men who can know little about their needs.

Denver.—*State Boards.*¹ According to the charter of the city of Denver, as at present in force, the Board of Public Works and the Fire and Police Board are appointed biennially by the Governor of the State of Colorado.

The Board of Public Works has "exclusive management and control of the construction, reconstruction and maintenance of all public and local improvements," including streets, sidewalks, sewers, bridges, viaducts, tunnels and the like, except "buildings used exclusively for fire and police purposes, or for hospitals or workhouses." For these purposes the Board has in charge the expenditure of money voted by the city council, the assessment of private property for local improvements and the issuing of bonds and warrants.

At the general city election of April, 1899, the tax-payers of Denver voted to authorize a bond issue of \$400,000 for the purpose of building an auditorium. The bonds were declared invalid by the Supreme Court on account of defects in the ordinance passed by the city council in March, 1899.

At a special election held on November 6, 1899, a bond issue of \$4,700,000 was voted for the purpose of acquiring a municipal water plant. The Board of Public Works proceeded to sell the bonds and obtained a first payment of \$100,000 on October 15, 1900. Before the second payment of \$100,000 became due the Board was served with an

¹ Contributed by Prof. J. R. Le Rossignol, University of Denver.

injunction by the United States Circuit Court at the instance of the Denver Union Water Company. The injunction has been sustained for several reasons, and it is probable that the water bonds are invalid.

For these miscarriages the Board of Public Works has been severely blamed. It is claimed by the advocates of "home rule," who are many and influential, that state and federal politics are too intimately connected with the municipal affairs of Denver. They say that the Board of Public Works is notoriously wasteful, that taxation is too high, that there is much corruption, that local interests are sacrificed to political expediency, and that the general administration of the Board is bad and could hardly be worse.

The Fire and Police Board has control over the fire and police departments, grants liquor licenses and has power to suppress gambling and disorderly houses.

It is generally admitted that the fire department is efficient, but it is asserted that the police department is grossly incompetent and corrupt. On February 6, 1901, a detective on the police force was accused of having secured the release from prison of two women pick-pockets. While denying the charge, the detective proceeded to accuse a police captain and two detectives of systematically protecting saloons, gambling places and disorderly houses, and of receiving money in return for this protection. The President of the Fire and Police Board at once ordered an investigation into the basis of these charges. The investigation continued daily from February 8 to February 16. In the course of the investigation sufficient evidence of a more or less incriminating character was adduced to show that there was no little corruption in the force. Captains, detectives and patrolmen were accused of the most flagrant neglect of duty, of complicity with criminals, of receiving money as blackmail from people of this class, and even of entering into partnership with them. The Board gave its decision on February 19. The members of the police force who had been accused, including two captains, three detectives and two patrolmen, were dismissed or asked to resign. The Board did not think the evidence sufficient to warrant the prosecution of the accused persons, but thought it wise to dismiss them for the sake of the efficiency of the force. It is possible that the charges were made largely at the instance of the political enemies of the Board, and it is not improbable that the investigation was made somewhat searching because of the approaching city election.

At the election, the regular members of the police force, together with special policemen enlisted for the occasion, were very active as partisans on the side of the "Fusion" or Democratic candidates.

Nevertheless, a majority of the Republican candidates, including the mayor, were elected. There is, therefore, now a division of executive power between the Republican mayor and Council and the Democratic Board of Public Works and Fire and Police Board. There will be a good deal of friction in the administration on this account, but the opposing forces may perhaps be trusted to watch one another closely, and thus to prevent or punish any flagrant misuse of power.

Home Rule.—The advocates of "home rule" succeeded in having two measures submitted to the State Legislature during the past session. One of these, the Rush bill, was passed. The other, the Parks bill, failed to pass. The latter bill proposed to give immediate home rule to Denver, by giving the mayor power to appoint the Board of Public Works and the Fire and Police Board. This measure was opposed by the politicians for obvious reasons. The Rush bill, which is now law, provides for submitting to the people of Colorado, at the next general election, an amendment to the constitution of the state, providing for the consolidation of the city of Denver with the county of Arapahoe, the whole to be known as the "City and County of Denver." This corporation is to have almost complete control of its own affairs. It is probable that the people will not vote in favor of this change.

*Montreal.*¹—*Framework.* The municipal framework of Montreal, as it exists to-day, plainly indicates a copying of English models modified somewhat by American ideas and conditions. At the same time there are one or two points which remind one very strongly of German methods.

To begin with, so far as its relations to the Provincial Parliament are concerned, the city is subject to the same vicious interference in every petty detail as are municipalities in most of the states. The distribution of power to the several provinces of the Dominion, instead of its centralization in the Dominion government itself, is probably responsible for the absence of the sound, sane, indirect governmental regulation of municipal affairs from central boards, which is so characteristic of Great Britain, as a similar decentralization is responsible for the presence of the evils which are so common in American cities. The Provincial Parliament can amend any section of the city charter, and more than that, can grant franchises without safeguarding the city's interests in any way. At the present time it is much more feared than the city council. The source of all power within the limits of the provisions of the city charter is the city

¹ Contributed by Francis H. McLean, General Secretary Charity Organisation Society, Montreal.

council or board of aldermen. As in English cities the various departments of the city government are managed and controlled by aldermanic committees, which are of course responsible to the entire council. All officers are appointed through the council. The mayor, exercising a supervisory power, may suspend any officer for misconduct, but must immediately report his action to the council. There is not the slightest tendency observable to concentrate power in the hands of the mayor or to have the departments administered by separate boards or commissioners. City councils in Montreal have not been as superior in personnel as have those in England. There have been scandals and jobs and rings in them. Nevertheless, they have never dropped entirely below the plane of respectability and have done fair work, with some notable exceptions, through administrative committees.

Electoral Qualifications. The voting franchise in city elections is conditioned by property or rental qualifications, in addition to the usual limitations. Ownership of property assessed at \$300, or rental of premises which brings in a sum of thirty dollars per year or more is required of all. Tenants are given the same rights as proprietors because they are subject to a water tax amounting to $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the rental value of the property they occupy. Owing to the low rental value necessary to qualify, practically every tenant is a possible voter. The classes which are definitely excepted are lodgers, roomers, boarders, guests in hotels, etc. It will be seen that the possibility of colonization is reduced to zero. A tenant cannot qualify unless he has occupied his rented premises for a number of months previous to the election. All paid employees of the city are debarred from voting, thus doing away with another possible source of corruption. Any one whose property, water or business license tax becomes overdue cannot vote during the term of such delinquency. If any such tax is remitted the disqualification continues until a subsequent tax is paid. Most interesting of all, a property owner may qualify as a voter in every ward in the city if he has sufficient immovable property in each. If he qualifies in more than one ward he can vote for mayor only once, but may vote in each such ward for the aldermen. This reminds one strongly of German municipal electoral systems.

At the general municipal election property owners and rent payers may vote. In special elections, principally affecting property rights, the city council may limit the voting lists to property owners or not as it chooses. If, however, it asks for a special loan in excess of the funded debt limit only property owners may vote. To emphasize the basic principle that the franchise comes through the ownership or rental of property—spinsters and widows may qualify, and husbands

who cannot qualify may vote for their wives, who can. As a matter of fact very few women attempt to vote.

Qualifications for Office. In order to be eligible for the position of mayor, the assessment rolls must show that the candidate owns immovable property to the value of \$10,000 above encumbrances. For alderman, property to assessed value of \$2,000 is required. Not only must the assessment rolls show title to property so valued at the time of election, but any such officer is subject to immediate removal, if at any time during his term of office it can be proved that he does not still possess the qualification.

Montreal's Debt. Montreal's funded debt at the end of 1899 amounted to eighteen and one-tenth per cent of the total assessed valuation of all the taxable property on the rolls. This extraordinarily heavy debt burden is largely caused by the undertaking of very extended street improvements not justified by the rate of increase in the tax rolls; and also because the tax rate upon immovable property is limited to one per cent. As to the first cause. The street laws of Montreal are peculiar in that the brunt of the burden of widening and paving streets is borne by the city as a whole and not by the adjoining property. Even after the reforms in this regard introduced in the new city charter of 1899, the following unfavorable conditions remain :

1. *Expropriation of property and widening* of any street may be declared by a three-fourth's vote of the Council, with the approval of the mayor, to be a general improvement. If so declared the costs are met from the General Fund. Other widenings may be ordered upon petition of a majority of the property owners and then the costs are borne entirely by them. The assessment *district* plan appears to be unknown.
2. In *paving the streets* it is permissive for the council to order half the expenses to be borne by the adjoining property. As a matter of fact it has never yet been done but the entire costs are paid from the city's funds.
3. One-half costs of *permanent sidewalks* falls upon property owners, one-half is assumed by the city.
4. For *ordinary street mains and laterals* the costs are borne entirely by the property owners.

That in the main the responsibility for street improvements is considered to rest upon the city is indicated by the fact that it acts as a surety or endorser for property owners delinquent in the payment of street assessments. Instead of forcing the contractors to obtain judgments through the courts it pays them the full amount of the delinquencies by means of floating bond issues and then itself sues. How serious a burden this is, is indicated by the fact that on December 31, 1899, the city was endeavoring to recover

through the courts over \$762,000, due from owners and covered by bonds.

What might be expected under this system actually happened. It furnished the opportunity for the satisfaction of a wild craze for street improvements which took hold of the city council in 1888 and did not leave it until 1895. During that short period of seven years the funded debt of the city rose from \$11,270,101 to \$25,046,341. No large public improvements were undertaken outside of street work. It is certain that the increasing valuation of real estate did not justify the very large accretions to the city's debt and that the temptation afforded by a system which so often obviated protesting property owners and in many other cases appeased them by liberal assistance from the city was one quite likely to result in lavish expenditures.

It may be claimed that as this over-liberality embodied itself in the shape of permanent improvements it will in the end justify itself. The trouble, however, is that it has piled up such a heavy debt against a permanent fixed tax-rate, that the city since 1895 has had to be administered with destructive parsimony. Renewals and repairs have not been made when they should, and the result has been very costly to the city. In 1896, two-fifths of the income of the city went to meet interest charges on bonds. Besides that it has not left opportunity for normal growth as the local conditions change. Improvements have been made in some quarters years ahead of time while in fast-growing localities necessary betterments have been postponed to the indefinite future. The rage has been all the more costly because of the peculiar race conditions. The east end of the city is practically a French section and the west end an English-speaking section. There is still much jealousy existing between the two sections and in the council the only way it can be allayed is by balancing the improvements made by the city in each quarter. If a street is widened or paved in one quarter, that improvement must be offset by the widening or paving of a street in the other quarter. Such a policy may furnish an object lesson in diplomacy but it is not economical. Certain wise amendments have been made in the new city charter but it will be some time before property owners are educated up to the new ideas. They are realizing, however, that their heavy debt so suddenly increased is responsible for filthy, unkempt, unswept streets, for sewers in bad repair, for a badly equipped fire department and for numerous other evils.

Revenues. The funded debt might not have increased to such proportions had it not been that the city was committed to a one per cent limit on the taxation of real property exclusive of school tax—a limit maintained in the new charter. This is the chief tax imposed

but there are two other very important ones—a tax of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the annual rental value of all occupied houses and buildings for water rates and a tax of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the annual rental of business premises known as the business license tax. In the year 1899 these three taxes yielded the following sums:

$1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on real property (general and school tax) . . .	\$1,666,690.77
Water Tax— $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of annual rental values	721,036.32
Business License Tax— $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of annual rental values (including personal property taxes)	268,927.74

As to present financial condition. Under the terms of the new city charter all the various funded debts were combined into the Consolidated Debt of \$27,000,000. This was fixed as the permanent debt limit until such time as that sum shall not exceed 15 per cent of the assessed valuation of the taxable property of the city. Then 15 per cent shall be the limit. As was indicated above, this point has not yet been reached, the debt still exceeding 18 per cent of the total valuation of real property which in 1899 was \$149,248,485. In the interim the council may issue bonds to a limited amount based on 10 per cent of the annual increases in the assessment valuations from year to year, for permanent improvements only. This power shall cease when the 15 per cent limit above mentioned has been first reached. The city council is also empowered to take a vote of the property owners as to whether bonds shall be issued for other special purposes. It is doubtful if this power will be of much practical value as the extravagance of preceding years in street improvements has been followed by an absurdly extreme conservatism. Only a short time ago a proposition submitted for the issuance of bonds to the amount of \$100,000 for adequately equipping the Fire Department was defeated at the polls, the total vote representing less than 10 per cent of the property owners—this despite the fact that fire insurance rates have been advanced very heavily lately in the business section owing to the condition of the department.

Havana.—*Organization of the City Government.*¹ The municipal government is regulated at present by the municipal law of 1878, with the amendments to the said law ordered from time to time by the military governor. The Municipal Council (*Ayuntamiento*) is composed of twenty-four councilmen (*Concejales*), being elected by popular vote. Minority representation (limited vote) and the Australian ballot have been adopted. Electors registered in May, 1901, numbered 27,305. Voters at the municipal elections must possess the following qualifications: (1) The voter must be a native male Cuban,

¹ Contributed by Señor don Antonio Govin, Professor of Administrative Law in the University of Havana.

or the son of a native male Cuban, born while his parents were temporarily residing abroad, or a Spaniard included within the provision of Article IX of the Treaty of Paris, who has not made declaration of his decision to preserve his allegiance to the Crown of Spain. (2) He must be of the age of twenty-one years or upward on the day preceding the day of election. (3) He must have resided in the municipality at least thirty days immediately preceding the first day of registration; and in addition to the above he must possess any one of the following qualifications: (a) Ability to read and write. (b) Ownership of real or personal property to the value of \$250, United States currency. (c) Service in the Cuban Army prior to July 18, 1898, and honorable discharge therefrom, whether a native Cuban or not. No person shall be qualified to vote who is insane or an idiot, or who is a resident in, or supported by, any public charitable institution, or who is deprived of, or suspended from, the exercise of his political rights by sentence of a court, except in cases where the conviction is for a crime of a political character. No person shall be a candidate for office in any municipality, unless he is a qualified elector of that municipality and is able to read and write.

Municipal Council. The term of office is one year and all the councilmen retire from office at the same time (on July 1). The office is gratuitous, obligatory and honorary. At its first meeting the new Municipal Council proceeds with the election of two councilmen who, under the name of Advocate-Syndics (*Procuradores Sinduos*), are to represent the corporation in all the suits which may be instituted in the defence of the municipal interests, and revise and audit all the local accounts and budgets. At its second meeting, the Municipal Council fixes the number of standing committees into which it is to be divided, entrusting to each one of them all the general business of one or more of the branches which law places in its charge. There are four committees: Budget and Accounts; Ways and Means; Urban Police; Charities and Correction. The Municipal Council is a financial administrative body and may only exercise the functions entrusted to it by law. The government and administration of all special municipal interests are under its jurisdiction. It appoints and removes all the employees and clerks paid with municipal funds and which are necessary for the fulfillment of the services entrusted to it. The council has a secretary, selected by the corporation, which office is incompatible with all other municipal offices, the salary being \$3,500 a year.

The Executive. The mayor (*Alcalde*) is elected by popular vote. The term of office is one year, the salary, \$6,000 a year. Five deputy mayors (*Fenientes de Alcalde*) are selected by the Municipal Council, from among the councilmen. The office is honorary. The mayor is

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the representative of the government and as such is to exercise all the powers entrusted to him by the laws under the direction of the governor of the province in all that refers to the publication and execution of the laws and general provisions of the Central Government. The mayor, who is the president of the Municipal Council, bears its name and represents it in all matters with the exception of the powers granted to the Advocate-Syndica. Furthermore, as the chief of the Municipal Administration, he has the following powers and duties: to publish, execute and order the approved resolutions of the Municipal Council; to suspend the execution of resolutions of the Municipal Council when questions are involved which, according to law, do not come under its jurisdiction; to direct all that relates to the urban and rural police; to direct and supervise the conduct of all the employees of the urban and rural police, punishing them with suspension from office and salary, not to exceed thirty days; to exercise all the duties proper to the office of supervisor and chief of the investment of municipal funds and of its accounting system. Deputy mayors, in their respective sections, should always act by delegation and under the direction of the mayor. The city is divided into forty wards. In each ward there is a *prefect*, who is appointed and removed by the mayor. He must possess the qualifications of an elector.

Finance. There is a treasurer, elected by popular vote, with a salary of \$3,000 a year. He draws up the annual budget, the report of the Advocate-Syndic being required. The Municipal Board may propose amendments to the budget. This body is composed of the Municipal Council and of associate members in equal number with councilmen, appointed from among the taxpayers of the municipal district. The budget must be approved by the Municipal Council.

Budget 1901-02. Expenditure: \$2,248,197.83, United States currency. Revenue (main branches): municipal property, \$139,143.38; land tax, \$750,251.94; trade tax, \$752,600. Tax rate, three per cent on rural real property; nine per cent on urban real property. Debt, \$12,253,931.22. The collection and administration of the municipal funds are in charge of the Municipal Council and take place through their agents and delegates. The distribution and investment of the said funds are resolved upon every month by the Municipal Council, subject to the budget. Payments are ordered by the mayor.

Centralization. According to the Cuban constitution, there is no relation between the city administration and the Republican Legislature. The local government is to be regulated by general laws. The municipality is autonomous.

Population. The population of Havana according to the census of 1899 was 242,055.

II. SOCIOLOGY.

The Theory of Imitation in Sociology.—In an article contributed to the April number of *Mind* by Sydney Ball, and in another to the May number of the *American Journal of Sociology* by Dr. Ellwood, recent contributions to sociological literature are analyzed and criticised. Dr. Ellwood considers the theory of imitation in social psychology, and after discussing and comparing the work of Professor J. Mark Baldwin and Mr. Tarde, he concludes that the shortcomings of the theory of imitation as the method of social organization and progress are: "(1) It cannot sufficiently explain the manifest limitations in the process of imitation without introducing other factors in the method of development; (2) it creates a gulf between human society and the societies of the animal world which are organized upon a basis of instinct; (3) it makes no allowance for the process of natural selection to bring about gradual changes in human society; (4) it rests upon no sufficient basis of ascertained facts, but has apparently been built up by a fallacious method of reasoning. In general, our criticism of the imitation theory is that it makes the social process something apart from the life process. It does not link, in any definite way, the forces which are moulding human society to-day with the forces which have shaped evolution in the past."

Sydney Ball discusses current sociology based upon the recent contributions of Alengry, Tarde, Baldwin, Bosanquet and Giddings. He considers the question "Is it (sociology) really a science, or is it more than a name for a science which may or may not some day come into existence?" Giddings believes "that the time has come when its principles, accurately formulated and adequately verified, can be organized into a coherent theory." This the writer denies, claiming that the contributions to sociological theory have been merely essays "to find the handle of a science." Alengry comes out with a cry back to Comte. He criticises Comte's point of view, claiming that his great error consisted in emphasizing the laws of succession as compared with those of coexistence. In the diverse character of the sociological literature of the present the author finds the only thing in common to be the rejection of the biological method. Emphasis is now put upon the psychological interpretation of social phenomena, and the writer devotes considerable attention to Baldwin and Tarde. The work of the latter is mentioned as a protest against the identification of sociology with the philosophy of history. The work of the psychological school is described as an endeavor to find a unifying

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principle to which the complex social phenomena may be reduced. Tarde looks for imitation to do for sociology what the infinitesimal calculus does for mathematics. Giddings finds the fundamental sociological element to be consciousness of kind. The writer argues that the theories based upon imitation or consciousness of kind are theories rather of association, or of contact between individuals, than of society as such or of society organized as a state. "The process of social organization is not one of imitation, but of adjustment of members in and to a social whole." In answer to the question propounded at the outset the author concludes that "a careful study of professedly sociological literature, interesting and suggestive as it often is, has only confirmed my conviction that sociology has still got to make good its scientific pretensions, and more especially its claim to absorb ethics and economics, to say nothing of other studies."

After such a careful canvass of sociological literature one is not a little disappointed at the conclusion expressed by the writer. The answer to the question as to whether sociology is or is not a science naturally depends upon what we mean by science. The representatives of the so-called exact sciences have always doubted the propriety of dignifying by the name of science any other body of knowledge than that represented by themselves. As a matter of fact different degrees of certainty exist in different fields of knowledge, and the degree of certainty necessary to delimit "science" from speculation is a question of terminology, that is an academic question of little or no consequence. Sociology is now going through the stage which all sciences have or must pass through. It is generally recognized that there is a great field for investigation here, and that the most successful methods employed must be determined by a process of elimination. This process is going on now in sociology, and to a greater or less extent in all sciences. There is nothing new in this, and it is to be regretted that so much effort is wasted in an endeavor to determine whether sociology is or is not a science. In this connection it is interesting to compare the aims of the writers of the articles just considered. Dr. Ellwood considers a contribution to sociological theory, endeavors to give it due credit, and criticises its shortcomings without bothering himself about whether sociology is or is not a science. Mr. Ball considers contributions from different schools of sociology, endeavors to state their shortcomings, and then upon the basis of this he solves the problem for himself as to whether sociology is or is not a science. Granting that sociological investigations will be pursued until it is generally agreed that sociology is a science, it is not at all likely that future writers will waste much effort in determining at just what stage their study achieved its enviable position.

The Gaming Instinct is the title of an excellent article by Dr. W. I. Thomas, in the May number of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Locomotion is described to be "primarily to enable the animal to reach and grasp food, and also to escape other animals bent on finding food." With "the survival of the most efficient structures," there is developed on the psychical side an interest in the conflict situation as complete and perfect as is the structure itself." Further on we are told that "there could not have been developed an organism depending on offensive and defensive movements for food and life without an interest in what we may call a dangerous or precarious situation." Since the cultural period of life is short in comparison with the prehistorical epoch, there has been consequently but little structural change in the organism to be recorded.

The experience of the reader is appealed to as evidence that conflicts such as matches, games and fights contribute our chief amusements. In frontier districts feuds are still resorted to, not so much because there are no other means of settling disputes, but because they are the most interesting methods. In the development of culture, when skill and cunning came in to supplement brute force in combats the interest was in no wise diminished. In social rather than in individual contests an increasing interest centres. The aim in mechanical inventions is to secure an advantage over nature, and primitive man took almost as much interest in them as in the direct contests themselves. From this point of view the interests of such men as Newton, Helmholtz and Darwin are considered to be identical with those of the inventors of primitive force appliances.

As long as man was in a state of nature his activities were not irksome. The new adjustments which the scarcity of game and the density of population brought about, made his activities more mechanical, habitual and tiresome, but his existence became less precarious. While the habits of industrial society are painful, the consumption of the products of labor is pleasurable. How superficial these race habits are may be seen in the occasional relapse of rich men's sons with the removal of the pressure of need. Tramps and criminals have failed to adjust themselves. Gambling is fascinating because it keeps up conflict activity without drudgery. In business the gaming instinct is expressed in the preference for work where shrewdness is involved, and where there is great uncertainty of success. The gaming instinct is still more expressed in practically monopolizing man's attention during periods of recreation. The article is suggestive and interesting throughout.

The Mathematical Method and von Thünen.—At the International Congress of Instruction in Social Sciences held at Paris last

year, Dr. Leon Winiarsky, of the University of Geneva, read an interesting report on the Teaching of Theoretical Economics in Switzerland. Dr. Winiarsky maintains that Cournot was the first rigorously scientific economist, inasmuch as Cournot, in 1838, first clearly indicated the application of the mathematical method to political economy. Although the matter of priority on this point is scarcely of primary scientific importance, yet credit should be given to whom credit is due; Johann Heinrich von Thünen certainly deserves to be mentioned with Cournot, and perhaps before Cournot, as introducing mathematical methods of investigating social problems.

The first edition of the first part of Thünen's remarkable "*Isolirter Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirtschaft und Nationalökonomie*" was published in 1826. It was characterized by all the essential qualities which since then have earned for its author the uniform appreciation and praise of the historians of economic doctrine. As Rodbertus declared, "von Thünen brought two things into political economy: *figures*, and *formulæ*, and *heart*; he united the most exact method with the most humanitarian sentiments—gifts which are rarely joined." Far more important, however, than Thünen's methodological attitude, is the nature of the theories to which his formulæ led him. In an essay published in 1896 on Thünen's theory of value, I attempted to show that he not only, with the aid of mathematics, developed the theory of final utility in all its essential parts as determinative of economic value, but proceeding further upon this theory as a basis, built up a complete doctrine of distribution, including theories of rent, wages, interest and profit—theories which bear a remarkable likeness to the doctrines propounded by modern economists of the marginal utility school.

The historians of economic doctrines have generally made no mention of these Thünen theories; they have, as a rule, confined themselves to a eulogious mention of his more accurate formulation of the Ricardian land-rent theory and a cursory criticism of Thünen's theory of ideal wages. Indeed, some of them, like Roscher, have confused Thünen's theory of ideal wages (wages as they would be regulated in an ideal economic state) with his entirely different and independent theory of actual wages, as they are determined under existing circumstances.¹

¹ Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, Philadelphia.

III. PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

Accident Insurance in Holland.—The American Minister at The Hague reports to the Department of State a measure which has passed the States General of the Netherlands and has received the royal sanction providing that employers in certain branches of labor shall insure their employees against pecuniary losses consequent on accidents which may happen to them in the execution of their trade.

The costs in the first instance are advanced by the State Treasury. The employer, however, is to contribute according to the class in which his trade is placed toward the working expenses of the State Insurance Bank in proportion to the wages of his employees.

Attachment of Wages in France.—The French Office du Travail has supplied one of the American Consuls with information concerning the attachment of workmen's wages in that country. The Minister of Commerce has recently had occasion to make an inquiry among large employers as to their opinion of the law now in force on the subject under which law the wages of workmen can be attached only to one-tenth of their amount. Some of the employers were in favor of entirely abolishing the attachment of workmen's wages, in view of the fact that, no matter how simplified the mode of procedure might be, the costs are heavy and are at the charge of the debtor. It appears that the expense sometimes reaches one thousand per cent of the amount involved. Many of the replies received by the Minister of Commerce insist upon the pecuniary and moral advantages which would result from the decrease of credit if the possibility of attachment were removed. The facilities and temptations of spending would be much reduced and the workmen would learn habits of order and economy. Those in favor of the law argue that the attachment of wages is the financial basis of credit for the workman. Out of 817 replies 69 only were in favor of maintaining the law as it stands; 57 more were in favor of maintaining the law, but proposed other reforms; for instance, that the attachments should be possible only for debts contracted for necessities.

Recent Appointments in Charitable Societies.—Among recent appointments in charitable agencies have been the following:

Mr. Charles F. Weller, General Secretary of the Associated Charities of Washington, D. C.

Mr. Lawrence Veiller and Mr. James F. Jackson, Assistant Secretaries of the New York Charity Organization Society, the former in special charge of the work of the Tenement House Committee, and

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the latter in special charge of the work of the Committee on Dependent Children.

Mr. S. H. Stone, Superintendent of the State Board of Children's Guardians of New Jersey.

Dr. William H. Allen, Secretary of the New Jersey State Charities Aid Association.

Dr. S. H. McLean, Superintendent of the Illinois State Asylum for Feeble Minded Children.

C. and N. W. Pensions.—The Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company have adopted a plan for pensioning employees who have fulfilled certain conditions, entirely at the expense of the company. In this respect it is unlike all beneficiary or insurance plans to which employees are contributors.

The plan provides for the retirement upon a pension of all employees seventy years of age or older, who have been at least thirty years in the service of the company. All employees sixty-five years of age and under seventy, who have been employed by the company for thirty years or more, and who may become incapacitated, may be retired and pensioned at the discretion of the company's pension board.

The amount of the pension will depend upon the length of service and the amount of pay received by the employee. The monthly allowance to each pensioner will be for each year of service one per cent of the average regular monthly pay for the ten years next preceding retirement. Thus no person will receive less than thirty per cent of his salary. A man whose average monthly pay for the ten years next preceding his retirement was \$100, and the years of whose service were 31.5, would receive a monthly pension amounting to 31.5 per cent of \$100, or \$31.50.

Municipal Sanitation in the United States.—Dr. Charles V. Chapin, the Superintendent of Health, of Providence, R. I., has just published a book of some nine hundred and fifty pages on "Municipal Sanitation in the United States." This book is comprehensive in its scope, and should be of value to local health officers in different parts of the country as well as to all persons interested in sanitary matters. Among the different topics dealt with are the following: The best methods of collecting and keeping birth, marriage and death statistics; methods of dealing with nuisances of every kind; full references to the different laws in different states throughout the country, in many cases with samples of the blanks and forms used in the different health departments. One chapter is given up to the subject of organization of boards of health and similar bodies; another to the question of plumbing, going into plumbing codes, the licensing of plumbers, state and municipal laws, etc.; another deals with the question of

water supply, impurities of water, municipal ownership, river pollution, sewage disposal, etc.; another is given up to the inspection of food supplies and the question of adulterated food; while another entire chapter is devoted to the question of dairy products, milk inspection, etc.

Boards of Children's Guardians in Indiana.—The legislature of Indiana has passed a bill authorizing the establishment of Boards of Children's Guardians in all counties of the state. Such boards have been in existence in the four largest counties of the state, but their establishment has heretofore been limited to the four counties having a population of more than fifty thousand. Each board is to consist of six persons, three of whom shall be women. They are to be appointed by the County Circuit Court and serve without compensation. Their duties are very similar to those exercised elsewhere by societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

Special Schools for Crippled Children.—Superintendent E. G. Cooley, of the public schools of Chicago, states that there are two hundred crippled children in that city, of whom but forty are at present receiving instruction. It is the hope and intention of the Board of Education to provide schools which may be accessible to all these unfortunates. At present there is one school of this kind, consisting of three rooms, and having a membership of forty-three pupils. The children are transported to and from the school by means of 'busses furnished by the Board of Education. The teachers have general supervision of the physical wants of the children. Similar facilities are already provided also in New York, but not as a part of the public school system.

The Casier judiciaire in France.—Ferdinand Dreyfus, who is a leader in various philanthropic societies in France, has published a recent volume entitled *Misères Sociales et Études Historiques*, in which he pays much attention to various aspects of crime and mendicity; he writes not as an indifferent observer, but as one who is practically grappling with the problems he discusses. One chapter is devoted to the *Casier judiciaire*, the technical term in French for the judicial record of every citizen. Whenever a French citizen is condemned to any penalty by a tribunal the clerk sends to the court of the place in which the person was born a statement of the offence and the penalty. This is filed alphabetically for ready reference. Any future condemnations are recorded on the same paper, so that the criminal record of any person may be seen at a glance. This method is of undoubted value for police purposes, and also in giving the judges the information they need as to the previous career of any accused person. But the record, having been hitherto accessible to

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the public, has been used greatly to the detriment of men who have made mistakes in early life. The public has not been permitted to forget it in later years. Many pathetic instances are related by Mr. Dreyfus of the way in which lives have been blasted through the persecutions made possible by access to the *Casier judiciaire*. Recent changes have been made in the law for the protection of discharged prisoners who have become re-established in society and are living honorable and industrious lives. Under the revised law the original information is accessible only to certain designated authorities, and when a discharged prisoner, or one placed on probation, has lived a certain time without incurring a new condemnation he may be restored to his full rights as a citizen and the early record may be effaced.

College Settlement Fellowship.—The College Settlements Association has established a fellowship of \$400 for the year 1901-02. The object of this fellowship is to open to a well-qualified person the opportunity afforded by settlement life for investigation of social questions or for training in philanthropic and civic work, or both. No requirements are made beyond residence in a settlement during the academic year, and the pursuit of some clearly-defined line of work, scientific or practical, under the general guidance of a special committee of the association and of the headworker of the settlement selected. The time may, with the approval of the association, be divided between different settlements. The Fellowship is awarded solely on the basis of the promise of future usefulness. Miss E. G. Balch, Prince Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass., is Chairman of the Committee in charge of the Fellowship.

Psychopathic Hospitals.—Minnesota has taken the lead in establishing a detention hospital for doubtful cases of insanity. A psychopathic hospital of this kind will be likely to have doubtful cases which are of great clinical interest, requiring careful observation and treatment.

There is a proposition to turn over the detention hospital, which is now attached to Bellevue Hospital in New York City, to the State Lunacy Commission with the purpose of affording the Commission a similar opportunity for clinical study of doubtful cases, but Dr. P. M. Wise, late president of the Lunacy Commission, in a letter to the *Charities Review* for June, attacks this measure.

The National Conference at Washington.—The National Conference of Charities and Correction, which convened in Washington, D. C., May 9-15, was attended by more than six hundred registered delegates. The papers and discussions in all departments of the work of the Conference were interesting and profitable; and the Conference as a whole must be regarded as one of the most successful yet held.

The exceptionally intelligent conception of the function of the Conference shown in the address of welcome delivered by Honorable H. B. F. Macfarland, president of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia; the election of the Chinese minister to honorary life membership in recognition of his address at the closing session; and the appointment of a committee to co-operate with the Census Bureau in securing such modification of the law as will permit the collection of statistics of charities and corrections, are among the incidents of the Conference worthy of special mention.

At the opening session the principal addresses were delivered by Rev. S. G. Smith, of St. Paul, and Mr. Jacob A. Riis, of New York. Dr. Smith sought to demonstrate that environment, *i. e.*, physical environment, has been "overworked," as accounting for degeneracy, and insisted upon the psychical features of the environment as of greater moment for good or for ill.

In the conference sermon, Rev. George Hodges traced the coming of the Era of Compassion. The heart of the new progress was declared to be the recognition of the individual. The essential thing is friendship. The chief thing that can be accomplished by the discussions of the Conference is the betterment of friendship, so that men shall go back to their work in a more fraternal spirit, putting their hearts into it, and lifting up those who are down, as Jesus did, by giving them a friendly hand.

One of the most useful features of the national conference is the reports from states prepared by Mr. H. H. Hart, the secretary of the conference, in correspondence with state secretaries throughout the United States and Canada.

The *Charities Review* for June contains a concise report of the Washington Conference, and a summary of the charity legislation of the current year.

State Activities in Relation to Labor.—Dr. W. F. Willoughby, of the United States Department of Labor, has revised and brought into a single monograph various reports and papers on the subject of state activities in relation to labor in the United States, and has published them as one of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. The papers constituting this monograph present in an interesting way the action of the American states in relation to labor.

This action is divided into two distinct classes, *viz.*, one in which the intervention of the state is limited to the mere enactment of laws, and that in which the state itself undertakes through the executive branch of its government to perform certain work. The present monograph is restricted to a consideration of the second of these two classes. The

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chapters deal successively with Bureaus of Statistics of Labor, Employment Bureaus, the Inspection of Factories and Workshops, Regulation of the Sweating System, the Inspection of Mines and Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration. The most important fact noted in the legislation of all of the states in connection with the last mentioned subject is that not the slightest attempt has been made to introduce the principle of compulsory arbitration. Although the Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration have not obviated strikes and may even not have been as effective as it was hoped that they would be, the author appears to share the general opinion that the boards have proven to be useful institutions. The following estimate is quoted with approval:

"They (the boards) accomplish much more than they actually decide. Their work is largely preventive. They remove the last excuse for gratuitous resort to industrial warfare by employer or employee. They lend official dignity to all important principles of peaceful negotiation. They menace the guilty with the displeasure of public opinion, which is nowadays more and more backed by money as well as morals, and they strengthen the weak with the hope of aid against oppression. They stand for a generous recognition of industrial liberty as opposed to class theories of compulsion. In the official organ of impartial investigation they also remove the last excuse for unwise and unintelligent meddling on the part of public opinion."

The New York Summer School in Philanthropic Work.—The Summer School in Philanthropic Work, conducted by the New York Charity Organization Society, closed its fourth annual session on July 26. The course, which continued six weeks, included a series of morning addresses, in which specialists from leading cities took part, practical studies into social conditions in New York City, visits to families, under the direction of the agents of the Charity Organization Society, visits to typical institutions illustrating the topics discussed, and the preparation of a series of reports by members of the school upon the several problems involved in charity work. Among the speakers who presented the point of view of the Charity Organization Society were the general secretaries from several cities: Miss Zilpha D. Smith, of Boston; Mr. Frederic Almy, of Buffalo; Miss Mary E. Richmond, of Philadelphia; Miss Mary Willcox Brown, of Baltimore. From the point of view of state boards and departments: Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, president of the Department of Charities and Correction in Baltimore; Honorable John W. Keller, president of the Department of Public Charities in New York, and Mr. Robert W. Hebbard, secretary of the State Board of Charities, New York. From the point

of view of care for neglected and delinquent children: Mr. Homer Folks, Mr. Charles W. Birtwell, Mr. Charles Loring Brace, Mr. H. H. Hart, Mrs. Glendower Evans, and Mr. David Willard. From the point of view of societies organized for a specific purpose: Mr. Frank Tucker, superintendent of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor; Dr. Lee K. Frankel, secretary of the United Hebrew Charities, and Dr. David Blanstein, superintendent of the Educational Alliance. From the point of view of medical charities: Dr. John S. Billings, Dr. George B. Fowler, Dr. William Hallock Park. From the point of view of churches in charity work: Dr. William R. Huntington, D. D., rector of Grace Church; Rev. Henry Mottet, D. D.; Rev. John B. Devins and others. Mr. Charlton T. Lewis spoke on "The Means of Effective Reform in the Lives of Prisoners," and Mr. Robert W. deForest upon "The Extension of State and Municipal Action Involving the Welfare of the Crowded Sections." The students, thirty-four in number, came from seventeen cities in fourteen different states; half of them are graduates from colleges and universities and the other half have had practical experience in philanthropic work, six coming from settlements and as many more from the district work of the Charity Organization Societies.

The school marks a step in the advance of philanthropy as a profession. During recent years a large number of young men and women who have imbibed a broad interest in social conditions from the universities, have given their lives to practical work among the poor in the tenement districts, either as settlement residents or as agents of charitable societies. That these and all new workers in philanthropy need special training has become more and more apparent. The fact that so large a number, usually at their own expense, came to New York for even the brief course of six weeks which was offered in the summer school, shows that to this extent the new workers themselves, even college men and women, feel the inadequacy of their preparation. The task of adjusting the needy family to its environment so that it is lifted from degradation and becomes self-supporting and of good habits, is a deliberate one, for which preparation is needed of the same stern type that the physician needs to fit himself for practice among the sick. The learner should have at least two years of training under experienced agents, before undertaking unaided the responsibility of solving the intricate problems in the families before him, or conducting the complex affairs of a charitable society. When one considers how varied are the needs of the poor, involving their character as well as their material help,—for no improvement is permanent unless it is a character improvement,—and the extent of the problems involved in

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the care of the poor, thirty million dollars having been expended last year for charitable work of various kinds in New York State alone, the need for this training becomes evident. It is hoped that the present summer school may grow into this larger movement and that the means for it may be provided.

The persons registered in the school this summer and their topics for special report were as follows:

Miss Mina L. Acton, New York City: Charitable Agencies Needed in New York. Dr. William H. Allen, Philadelphia: New York State Charities Aid Association. Miss Anna Lowell Alline, New York City: Financial Management of Charitable Institutions, with Special Reference to Hospitals. William R. Camp, Palo Alto, Cal.: The Causes of Dependence. Joseph Aubrey Chase, Brooklyn, N. Y.: Employment and Industrial Agencies. Sister Dora Dawson, Brooklyn, N. Y. Miss Emily W. Dinwiddie, Greenwood, Va.: Conditions among the Negro Population in New York City. Mrs. E. E. Dreyfous, New York City: The Conditions of Failure and Success in Volunteer Friendly Work among the Poor. Miss Elizabeth Dutcher, Brooklyn, N. Y.: The Part of the Church in Charity Work. Miss Caroline M. Eichbauer, New York City: Treatment of Families in Emergent Need. Mrs. William Einstein, New York City: The Topics in a Course of Philanthropic Study. Miss Elizabeth LeBaron Fletcher, Amherst, Mass.: Homes for Working Women. Professor J. C. Freehoff, LaCrosse, Wis.: Report upon a West Side Tenement Block. Miss Laura B. Garrett, Baltimore, Md.: A Study among the Italians in New York City. Miss Laura E. Gilman, Boston, Mass.: Immigration, with Special Reference to Italians. Miss Bertha Adeline Hollister, Winter Park, Fla. Miss Edith C. Irwin, New York City: Causes of High Rents in Tenement Houses in New York City. Richard H. Lane, New York City: A Study of Delinquent Children. Eugene T. Lies, Buffalo, N. Y.: A Study of Neglected Children. Mrs. Mattie J. Megee, Philadelphia: Some Methods of Investigation and Decision in New York. Edwin A. Palmer, Chicago, Ill.: Municipal Care for Vagrants. Daniel Lawrence Peacock, Richmond, Ind.: The Education of Immigrants. W. Frank Persons, New York City: The Department of Charities in the City of New York. Rudolph R. Reeder, New York City, Mrs. Clara L. Reeds, New York City: Social Conditions in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards. Miss Anna E. Rutherford, Baltimore, Md.: Methods of Placing Out Children as Seen in New York. Miss Mary Buell Sayles, Montclair, N. J.: A Study of the Syrian Population in New York. Mrs. Anna McCune Schenck, St. Louis, Mo.: Medical Charities. Mrs. Nettie C. Schwerin, New York City: A Brief Survey of the Street in Which the

Hudson Guild is Located. Miss Lily E. Taylor, Toronto, Can.: The Co-operation of Churches in Charitable Work. Miss Helen D. Thompson, New York City: A Study of the Twentieth and Twenty-second Assembly Districts. Miss Zaidee M. VanBoskerck, Plainfield, N. J.: The Relation of the Government to the Poor in Small Cities. Miss Mary Verhoeff, Louisville, Ky.: The Savings of the Poor. Miss Jessie J. Wheeler, Cincinnati, O.: Burials among the Poor. J. O. White, Boston, Mass.: A Study of a Tenement Block on the West Side.

For a portion of the course: Miss Mary Morrison, New York City.

The Warfare Against Consumption.—Among the significant indications of increased activity in the crusade against tuberculosis is the establishment of two periodicals, one in Germany and one in England, devoted exclusively to this subject. The *Zeitschrift für Tuberkulose und Heilstättenwesen* publishes original scientific articles on the medical aspects of the disease and notes upon its literature, and records progress in the establishment of sanatoria and other agencies for checking the ravages of the disease.

Tuberculosis, the journal of the (British) National Association for the Prevention of Consumption, is of a more popular character and is perhaps on that account more useful since an essential feature of the present campaign is the alliance between medical and lay agencies in the securing of suitable legislation and the formation of sound public opinion. In the medical profession itself there is the greatest possible contrast between the spirit of utter hopelessness which prevailed twenty-five years ago and the present prevailing note of hopefulness as to the curability of the disease and the possibility of removing it from the class of epidemics as completely as smallpox and cholera have been removed.

There is abundant evidence of a widespread interest in the subject at the present time, but unfortunately there is as yet little practical result in the United States so far as the adoption of definite preventive measures are concerned. Dr. John H. Pryor, of Buffalo, has summed up in cogent phrases the duty of the state, declaring that it should care for the consumptive at the right time, in the right place, and in the right way until he is cured, and not as at present, at the wrong time, in the wrong place, and in the wrong way until he is dead.

The Congress on this subject held in London in July, was notable for the declaration by Dr. Robert Koch, to whose discoveries is due so much of the recent progress in the treatment of tuberculosis, that the disease is not communicated to human beings by means of meat or milk—a view not shared by other equally competent authorities.

The Legislature of Connecticut had under consideration, during its

long session, a proposition for the establishment of a hospital for the treatment of incipient cases, and seemed repeatedly on the point of taking favorable action on the measure; it was finally decided, however, to appropriate \$25,000 to a Hartford hospital instead, and this institution is to erect a special building on the pavilion plan. It is now two years since a preliminary appropriation was made for the establishment of a similar hospital in the Adirondacks, but disgraceful political and selfish considerations have delayed its actual erection.

The Commissioner of Immigration has decided to attempt to exclude consumptives in early stages, as well as those whose disease is well advanced, the latter having been excluded under earlier rulings usually on the ground that they are likely to become public charges. It is doubtful whether this decision will have any other practical effect than to advertise still further the dangerously contagious character of the disease, and thus perhaps impose additional hardships upon those who are suffering in incipient stages, and who are not provided with the means for seeking a cure under favorable conditions.

In the same class of doubtful expedients should be placed the decision of the New York State Health Department, to take an enumeration of the people in the state afflicted with tuberculosis. No such census can possibly approach completeness, and there is ample knowledge already to justify far more radical action by state and local governments than is likely to be taken.

Among the positive contributions of private philanthropy to the real remedy, especial notice is due to the opening of the Country Sanitarium for Consumptives, maintained by the Jewish Montefiore Home of New York City. The sanitarium will accommodate one hundred and fifty patients, and while the situation is within less than two hours' ride of the city it has all of the climatic conditions essential to the proper treatment of the disease.

The Tenement House Exhibit at the Pan-American Exposition.—The beauty of the exterior of the Pan-American Exposition so far overshadows all of its other features, except its remarkable array of amusements, that comparatively little attention is likely to be given to its serious exhibits.

Hidden away in an interior enclosure in the building devoted to Manufactures and Liberal Arts, there is a very creditable charities exhibit representative of all of the great groups of charitable activities and geographically of nearly all sections of the United States. Hospitals, children's institutions, almshouses, homes for the aged, institutions for the insane, relief societies and charity organization societies are all in evidence.

Immediately adjoining is an interesting exhibit of sanitation,

hygiene and housing conditions. The most conspicuous feature of this department, as of the corresponding section at the Paris Exposition, is the exhibit of the Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York.

This exhibit includes three models—

(1) A block of existing tenement houses in the city of New York, as it stood on January 1, 1900.

The block bounded by Chrystie, Forsyth, Canal and Bayard streets, containing 39 tenement houses, with 605 different apartments for 2,781 persons. Of these 2,315 are over five years of age, and 466 under five years. There are 1,588 rooms, and only 264 water closets in the block. There is not one bath in the entire block. Only 40 apartments are supplied with hot water. There are 441 dark rooms, having no ventilation to the outer air and no light or air except that derived from other rooms. There are 635 rooms getting their sole light and air from dark and narrow air-shafts. During the last five years there have been recorded 32 cases of tuberculosis from this block, and during the past year 13 cases of diphtheria. During the past five years 665 different applications for charitable relief have come from this block. The gross rentals derived from the block amount to \$113,964 a year. This block is not one of the worst in the city, but merely typical.

(2) A block of typical tenement houses built in accordance with the laws in force January 1, 1901, showing almost the entire block occupied by these buildings. Each tenement house in this block contains accommodations for four families on each floor, in fourteen rooms, making 22 families in each building, and 704 families in the whole block, a total of 4,000 persons in the block. The new tenement house law, just passed as a result of the work of this committee, prevents the erection of such buildings in the future.

(3) A model of an entire city block of model tenements designed by Ernest Flagg, architect, 35 Wall street, New York, showing large courts for light and air. Three different groups of improved tenement houses have been built on this plan in New York City, one located in Sixty-eighth street west of Tenth avenue, another located in Sixty-ninth street west of Tenth avenue, and a third located at Forty-second and Forty-first streets and Tenth avenue.

Another portion of the exhibit consists of two winged frames containing photographs illustrating tenement house conditions in America. These photographs show first some views of the Tenement House Exhibition held by this Committee in New York in February, 1900. Then follow pictures of the different model tenement houses which have been erected in New York City; the Tower Buildings of

Mr. Alfred T. White in Brooklyn, erected in 1878; the Riverside Buildings of Mr. White in Brooklyn, erected in 1890; the buildings of the Improved Dwellings Association, at Seventy-first street and First avenue, erected in 1879; the City and Suburban Homes Company's buildings, at Sixty-fourth street and First avenue, erected in 1899, and at 217-233 West Sixty-eighth street, erected in 1896.

Following the model tenements in New York are shown photographs of old bad tenement houses which have now been destroyed, and following these are a series of photographs, showing existing bad conditions in New York's tenement houses, illustrating the small, dark, narrow, unventilated air shafts, the evils of lodgers in the tenements, unsanitary "back to back" rear buildings, playgrounds in tenement districts, street scenes in tenement districts, and other views illustrating similar conditions in New York City.

The rest of the exhibit illustrates housing conditions in other American cities, beginning with Boston and showing first the different model tenements in that city. Then follow a few photographs showing typical bad housing conditions in Boston. Following these are shown the typical and the worst housing conditions in the following American cities: Albany, Baltimore, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Chicago, Detroit, Hartford, Kansas City, Oakland, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Providence, San Francisco, St. Paul, Washington and Wilmington, Del.

The exhibit closes with a number of photographs illustrating different model small houses, most of which have been built by employers for their employees, the houses of the Willimantic Linen Company, at Willimantic, Conn.; the Howland Mills Corporation, at New Bedford, Mass.; the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company, at Washington, D. C.; the Industrial Colonies of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, at Alliance and New Orange, N. J.; the houses of the S. D. Warren Company, at Cumberland Mills, Me.; the exhibit concluding with the model houses of the Draper Company, at Hopedale, Mass.

The Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society of New York City is a special committee of that society which seeks to improve the living environment of the working people by providing proper living accommodations. It seeks to accomplish this: (1) by securing the enactment of wise restrictive legislation prohibiting the erection of bad types of houses and by seeing that such legislation is enforced; (2) by encouraging the building of improved tenement houses as commercial enterprises; and (3) by presenting a study of the tenement house problem in such a way as to arouse the community to the necessity for reform. Through the efforts of this committee the state appointed the Tenement House Commission of

1900 to investigate this subject in New York and Buffalo, and the new Tenement House Law, which has just been passed through the efforts of the legislature and Governor Odell, is one of the results of this committee's work.

Bad housing conditions have resulted in nearly every case in different communities because of failure on the part of the community to appreciate the fact that these conditions were growing up around them and that the consequences would be serious. Had the conditions been met in time, the serious consequences could have been prevented. It is important for every growing city in this country to see to it that housing conditions such as are shown in the models and photographs in this exhibit, and which exist in New York, shall not be allowed to grow up in their community.

Persons desiring to take steps to prevent the growth of bad housing conditions in any city will find the Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society ready to assist them in any way in their power in helping to check the growth of these bad conditions, and for that purpose should communicate with Mr. Lawrence Veiller, Assistant Secretary of the Society, at 105 East Twenty-second street, New York City.

IV. COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

Porto Rico.—A little over a year has now passed since the system of government for Porto Rico, established by the law of April 12, 1900, was put into operation, and the first annual report of the governor shows a remarkable record of progress achieved during this time. As provided by the law of 1900, the most important powers of government are vested in the executive council, and the work of that body during the past year has necessarily been of a decisive character in determining the precedents for future years. One of the principal powers conferred upon the council was the granting of franchises, subject to congressional approval, and during the last year over fifty-three applications for important public concessions have been submitted, covering railroads, wharves, water rights, telephones, tramways, telegraphs, ferries and automobile lines. Comparatively few have as yet been granted. The most important of this class of questions which has recently been decided by the executive council is the franchise of the so-called French Railroad Company. The company enjoyed a government guarantee of an 8 per cent dividend upon the cost of construction under the Spanish régime. This guarantee was discontinued by the United States, and it became necessary to make a complete readjustment of the relations between the company and the insular government. The importance of the railroad to the economic development of a large part of the island was recognized by the executive council, but, on the other hand, the council did not feel justified in continuing a guarantee which would in all probability prove a serious burden to the finances of the insular government. After protracted negotiations a plan was agreed upon to the satisfaction of both parties. The company has reorganized as an American corporation and has waived all claims for guaranty of its dividend, in return for which it has been exempted from taxation for twenty-five years, has received franchises for the construction of branch lines and a lease of land in the city of San Juan for fifty years at a nominal rental. In the meantime a new company, with American capital, has secured the necessary franchise for a railroad and is planning to begin construction work in the near future.

In the administration of justice an important advance has been made by depriving the mayors of municipalities of their jurisdiction in criminal cases and establishing police courts, one in each municipality. Until the last session of the legislature persons arrested for petty offences were tried before the mayors of the various *municipios*. This led, it was claimed, to the introduction of politics into the

trial of such petty criminal cases; the legislature has accordingly provided for a system of police magistrates for the trial of such cases. The magistrates are appointed by the governor, one in each of the sixty-seven municipalities, and are thereby removed from the disturbing influences of local politics. In addition to these magistrates' courts there are municipal courts with a limited jurisdiction. The island is also divided into five judicial districts, with a district court composed of three judges in each district. The decisions of these courts may be reviewed by the Supreme Court of Porto Rico sitting as a court of cassation. A large majority of the cases coming before the district courts are criminal cases, a fact which is attributable to the unrest caused by the change of sovereignty, the lack of employment following the hurricane and other disturbing influences.

The treasurer's department, in particular, shows the remarkable progress made during the past year. A system of internal taxation, based in the main upon the general property tax, has been adopted, and affords the opportunity provided for by the Foraker law to abolish the customs duties on trade between the United States and Porto Rico. On July 4 of the present year the legislative assembly in extra session passed a resolution pointing out that the revenue system of the island was sufficient to meet insular expenditures, and asking the President to issue the proclamation of free trade between Porto Rico and the United States, contemplated by the Foraker act. With the adoption of this change, which took place on July 25, it is expected that the American markets for Porto Rican products may be considerably enlarged. It is especially hoped that coffee and tobacco exports will be increased. A glance at the census of Porto Rico will show that coffee is one of the principal, if not the principal, product of the island. The coffee and tobacco lands, however, are situated in the interior and are difficult of access. The high cost of transportation, together with the duties levied upon these products when imported into the United States, have unduly limited their natural markets in America. One of the immediate results of free trade with the United States was the introduction of a large quantity of Brazilian coffee by way of New York. Considerable indignation was manifested, and a boycott organized, whereupon the coffee was reshipped to New York. An interesting feature of the financial system adopted in Porto Rico has been the central control over municipal finances. The necessity for this control has been clearly shown by the experience of the last year. A large percentage of the municipal budgets submitted to the central authorities have contained many defects to which attention is called in the governor's report. The most important of these are illegal taxation, the falsification of assets or receipts,

and the excessive expenditure for salaries. In sixty-five of the municipal districts 23 per cent of the total expenditure was devoted to salaries.

Next to the change wrought by the abolition of the American tariff, the greatest impetus to the economic development of Porto Rico may be expected from the system of roads now under construction. The military government pursued the plan of road-building in various parts of the island, not only for the purpose of affording means of communication, but more especially to provide employment for the poorer classes after the hurricane. The Department of the Interior, under the civil government, is now directing its attention primarily to the development of certain trade routes, from which it is thought that a permanent change in the accessibility of the interior lands will result, and thereby, also, a perceptible diminution in the cost of production of insular products.

The work of the Department of Education has been perhaps the most interesting of all that has been undertaken by the insular government. The illiteracy of Porto Rico is well-nigh discouraging and the funds at the command of the Commissioner of Education have been limited. Previous to American control there were no buildings erected for school purposes on the island, and the absence of good roads has continually rendered the task of supervision difficult, while there was, as the commissioner has pointed out, a lack of active public sentiment to sustain the public-school system. The number of children admitted to the schools in October, 1900, was 40,000. This was, of course, a very small percentage of the population of school age. According to the new school law passed by the legislature at its last session, not less than ten per cent nor more than twenty per cent of all moneys received by each municipality must be set aside as a school fund. Within these limits the amount devoted by each municipality to educational purposes is determined by the municipal council. The management of schools in each district is entrusted to a school board of three members elected by the people. The power of supervision is retained by the Commissioner of Education as provided by the organic law. The interest and efficiency of the teachers have been stimulated by a series of teachers' courses held during the summer at San Juan, for which over seven hundred and fifty teachers and persons in preparation for the teaching profession were registered.

In the preservation of order the insular government has made an interesting departure from the methods heretofore in vogue upon the mainland by establishing a corps of police entirely under the control of the Central Government. This body, composed of 664 officers and men, distributed throughout the island, includ-

ing nearly all of the cities, has supplanted the municipal police forces and resulted in a considerable saving to the local governments. The standard of efficiency has been raised, and it is safe to say that the rapid improvement in the order of the island is due in no small degree to the thorough and systematic organization of the insular police. Another interesting development in American administrative methods is seen in the bureau of charities. The insular board of charities has been superseded by a single director of charities who possesses not only extensive powers of inspection and supervision over the charitable institutions of the various municipalities, but also a complete control over the charitable institutions of the insular government. A similar change toward a greater concentration of power has been made in the management of correctional institutions, by the substitution of an insular director of prisons for the board of prison control.

The Philippines.—The commerce of the Islands is steadily increasing, the imports having reached the highest point known in the history of the archipelago. Until recently the poor condition of the shipping facilities at Manila has caused long delays in the unloading of goods destined for that port. This in turn led to high freight rates to cover the time lost by large vessels in port. The improvement in the shipping facilities has now reached a point where these delays are being rapidly reduced and a corresponding increase in the direct shipments to Manila is observable. It is expected that with the consequent lowering in the freight rates the prices of American goods may be reduced to such an extent as to increase their consumption in the Philippine markets. While the total value of merchandise, gold and silver exported from the Philippines during the calendar year 1900, shows an increase of more than one-third over the exports for the year 1899, the exports to the United States have increased only one-quarter. On the first of July the civil government as planned went into operation. The Philippine Commission was succeeded by a governor and a cabinet composed of heads of executive departments. Judge Taft, the president of the former commission, was appointed governor, while the other members of the commission have been made chiefs of the several departments.

An interesting question relating to the executive organization of our new possessions has presented itself, viz., should the power to appoint the heads of departments be vested in the President of the United States or in the governor of the territory or dependency? It seems probable that with the gradual evolution of a distinct form of government for the new dependencies the power of choosing the heads of the departments may be vested in the governor. There is a vast dif-

ference between the powers exercised by the executive in the new possessions from that exercised by the governor of a territory upon the mainland. In the latter case the governor is seldom required to perform functions of a highly important character, whereas in the new possessions the governor's position is in many respects the determining factor in the government. The greater the powers of the executive department, the more sharply defined must be the responsibility, and, after the most urgent necessity for control by the President of the United States has passed, it may be expected that a form of organization looking to a greater concentration of responsibility and power within the insular governments will be developed. In this respect the governments of Hawaii and Porto Rico present a sharp contrast to each other. The heads of departments in Porto Rico are nearly all appointed by the President of the United States, and are therefore placed in a position of considerable independence with reference to the governor, whereas the Governor of Hawaii appoints all the heads of departments, even including the auditor and assistant auditor. In the case of Porto Rico the peculiar organization was doubtless justified by the undeveloped political condition of the island and by the necessity that the President should exercise a direct control over the introduction of the new governmental system; but, as the insular government becomes firmly established, a closer approximation to the Hawaiian form would seem desirable.

V. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

Militant Trades Unionism in the United States.—The *Iron Age*, of May 30, 1901, gives a detailed account of the circumstances which led up to the recent strike in the works of the National Cash Register Company of Dayton, Ohio. This company has been constantly cited as a model establishment in respect to the relations existing between employer and employed. High wages were paid, free baths, libraries and facilities for exercise were provided; studied courtesy from superior to inferior was the rule. The narrative of the recent disturbances as given by the *Iron Age*, shows that this considerate and kindly treatment of the employees was not appreciated by them, but that it had rather the effect of "spoiling" them. One of the many points of dispute between the management and the hands concerned the question of the washing of the towels supplied to the lavatories. The labor union men in the shops complained that these were washed by women not connected with any union, and they demanded that the work should be done in a union laundry. The management settled this difficulty by stopping the supply of towels. It was then discovered that the compressed air-springs on the doors of the polishing department were manufactured by a non-union shop in Connecticut. The springs were removed. Questions of wages and employment soon came to the front. In 1899 the shop had been unionized, and from the beginning this formal recognition of the union led to serious trouble. A few examples will illustrate: The Local Metal Polishers' Union about this time was worsted in a conflict with the Dayton Manufacturing Company, and was therefore left with a number of idle men on its hands. The committee of the union in the works of the Cash Register Company insisted that whenever a vacancy occurred in their shop it should be filled by one of these discharged employees of the Dayton Manufacturing Company. The management acceded. The foundry department was the next and final cause of disagreement. Of the thirty-two foundrymen sixteen were union men, the foreman being a non-union man and peculiarly obnoxious to the unionists because of his connection with an unsuccessful strike in another factory eleven years before. A year and a half ago this foreman discharged two men for cause and refused to take them back, although the union demanded their restoration through its international officers. The company, however, paid the men fifteen dollars per week for three months to assist them in finding other employment. At the end of that time the international officers allowed the pensions to be discontinued after a long discussion. The next act of the union, which had now been formally recognized by the

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company, was to announce that no employee should earn more than \$4.50 per day—some of the hands had been earning \$7 per day on piece work. The company acceded to this rule, and as a result of the additional hands from other works which were forced upon them by the union, the working force was so much increased that many of the moulders finished their allotted tasks by noon, and the shop during the afternoon became a lounging and smoking-room. The result was a new arrangement of work by which the moulders did a full day's work for \$4.50, suffering to the extent of the difference between this sum and their former wages, from the advent of the union into the shop. In January last three men were laid off because there was no work for them to do. After a hearing before the international committeeman the company was sustained. In March and April three more men were laid off, two for lack of work and one for cause. One of these secured other employment, leaving five men out of work. The local union, in the latter part of April, in spite of the previous reference to the officers of the general organization, and in spite of the statement of the company that there was no work for the men to do, made a formal demand for their reinstatement, and on the company refusing to employ them ordered a strike in the moulders' department. On April 29 all the moulders went out. A few days after the demand was reiterated by a committee of metal polishers. A second refusal was followed by a strike of all the polishers. As a result of these two strikes the company was forced to close the works.

A sequel to this struggle is the securing, by the Dayton Manufacturing Company above-mentioned, on June 1, 1901, of a perpetual injunction, restraining the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass-Workers' Union, No. 5, of Dayton, from in any way interfering with their business. The petition charges that the defendants, since seventeen employees in the polishing and buffing departments of the Dayton Manufacturing Company were discharged on October 9, 1899, for unsatisfactory work, "conspired together to prevent the plaintiffs from having their polishing and buffing done in the city of Dayton by others engaged in the same business; that they threatened the remaining employees and others who were subsequently employed by the company to take the places of those discharged with force and violence to compel them to leave the plaintiffs' service; that they threatened and intimidated certain persons from dealing with the plaintiffs; that they 'picketed' the plaintiffs' factory for the purpose of intimidating their employees, and caused disturbances which made it necessary to call in police assistance to preserve the peace." In the Court of Common Pleas of Montgomery County, Ohio, these acts as alleged were found illegal, and Judge Kumler granted a perpetual in-

junction as prayed for in the petition. In summing up his decision Judge Kumler said: "If the defendants would live within the objects and purposes of their organization as expressed in their constitution and by-laws all would be well, and we would never hear of any trouble between the employer and the employees. But where the members of the union go beyond conceded right to peacefully persuade or arbitrate, and resort to threats, intimidation and violence to accomplish their ends, they must expect to face the courts, which have always and always will condemn such conduct."—*Iron Age*, June 6, 1901.

Amount of Small Coal Saved in the Anthracite Region.—The Pennsylvania Coal Waste Commission, in its report in 1892, recommended, as a most important means of economy, the better utilization of the small coal, *i. e.*, the sizes below chestnut coal. Until a few years before the date of this report, most of this small coal went to the culm bank, the commission estimating the total amount of coal lost in this way, from 1823 to 1892, at 315,000,000 tons. Of late the small sizes are in large demand and the following tables show the large proportion of the total output which is now consumed in the small sizes which were until recently thrown away:

	Per Cent of Total.	
	Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company.	Girard Estate.
Large sizes, chestnut and above . .	49.20	57.41
Pea coal	14.13	13.98
Buckwheat	16.34	21.10
Rice	20.33	7.51
Total small or steam sizes . . .	50.80	42.59
Totals	100.00	100.00

The statistics of other companies are not available, but the records of these two large coal mines are probably indicative of the general situation. The special significance of these figures, apart from their revelations of increasing care and economy by producer and consumer, is the danger to the anthracite mining industry which is presented by the increasing use of bituminous coal. This is preferred by steam raisers, on account of its superior heating value, in spite of the lower price at which the smaller sizes of anthracite are sold. Let the smoke nuisance be once overcome and the anthracite companies, already so largely dependent upon the manufacturing demand, will have a hard struggle to maintain their position.

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ANNALS
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BERNSTEIN VS. "OLD-SCHOOL," MARXISM.

I.

In the year 1862, the energy and ambition of Ferdinand Lassalle sought an outlet in an agitation in behalf of the laboring class. In 1863 this wonderful man created the Universal German Laborers' Union (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*), the first organization of German social democracy. Killed in a duel in 1864, he left a small, and not altogether harmonious, group of followers. In the same decade, Liebknecht and his young disciple, Bebel, began to preach to the German laborer the ideas of Karl Marx, ideas differing in important respects from those of Lassalle. The latter's aims were idealistic, national and state socialistic; the socialism of Karl Marx was based on materialism, was international or cosmopolitan, and hostile to the existing state and to state socialism. In the seventies followers of Marx and Lassalle united to form the *Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei*, as the German Social Democratic Party was then called, and the first platform of the party, the Gotha Program, contains indications of a compromise between the two groups. As time passed, the doctrine of Marx became predominant. Marx, not Lassalle, is to-day the recognized

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master of German socialists. Within the past few years, however, Marxism, as a theory and a political method, has entered upon a crisis that perhaps indicates its dissolution, while in the movement represented by Bernstein, the editor and biographer of Lassalle, but long known as a Marxist, there has come to the front a socialism that bears closer resemblance to that of Lassalle, than to that of Marx. Lassalle is not invoked as its leader; the cry "Back to Lassalle" has not been raised, but there is, nevertheless, a turning from Marxian materialism to idealism, from Marxian dislike of patriotism and the national spirit to an acknowledgment of the importance of national interests, from Marxian hatred of the present state to a recognition of what governments, as organized to-day, have done and can do for the laboring class.

The authoritative statement of the faith of the German Social Democratic Party is given in the Erfurt Program, adopted in 1891. Some of its most significant utterances may be here quoted :

"The economic development of industrial society tends inevitably (*mit Naturnotwendigkeit*) to the ruin of small industries, which are based on the workman's private ownership of the means of production. It separates him from the means of production and converts him into a destitute member of the proletariat, whilst a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landowners obtain a monopoly of the means of production.

"Hand in hand with this growing monopoly goes . . . a gigantic increase in the productiveness of human labor. But all the advantages of this revolution are monopolized by the capitalists and great landowners. To the proletariat and to the rapidly sinking middle classes, the small tradesmen of the towns and the peasant proprietors, it brings an increasing misery, oppression, servitude, degradation and exploitation.

"Ever greater grows the mass of the proletariat, ever vaster the army of the unemployed, ever sharper the contrast between oppressors and oppressed, ever fiercer that war of classes between bourgeoisie and proletariat which divides modern society into two hostile camps.

"Nothing but the conversion of capitalist private ownership of the means of production . . . into social ownership can effect such a

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revolution that instead of large industries and the steadily growing capacities of common production being, as hitherto, a source of misery and oppression to the classes whom they have developed, they may become a source of the highest well being. . . .

"This social revolution involves the emancipation, not merely of the proletariat but of the whole human race. . . . But this emancipation can be achieved by the working class alone. . . .

"It must be the aim of social democracy to give conscious unanimity to this struggle of the working class and to indicate its inevitable goal (*naturnotwendiges Ziel*").

The view presented in the Program of present industrial society tending inevitably toward socialism is connected with Marx's "materialistic conception of history," a theory of social development which leaders of the Social Democratic Party apparently consider a necessary article of faith. The most complete and authoritative statement of this theory from the pen of Marx is that in the preface of his *Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, published in 1859. It is obscure and involved in expression and a rather free translation must be given:

"As producers, the members of industrial society enter into certain necessary relations to one another, relations independent of the human will and, in their totality, making up the economic structure of society. This economic structure corresponds to the stage of development reached by the productive forces (*Produktivkräfte*), and forms the basis for a legal and political superstructure. Corresponding to it is the mental life of society. The manner of production for man's material life determines (*bedingt*) the social, political and mental life. It is not the mind of man that determines his life in society, but this life that determines mind. At a certain stage in their development the productive forces of society get into conflict with the existing economic structure, or, in other words, with the social organization based on property (the legal aspect of economic structure). Ceasing to be the channels within which the productive forces move freely, the economic structure and law of property become hindrances. Then ensues a period of social revolution. Corresponding to the revolution in the economic basis of society, there is a more or less rapid change of the entire superstructure. In the study of such revolutions we must always distinguish between the changes in the material conditions of production, which are the subject of scientific

observation, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic and philosophical activities—the mental life—in which man becomes conscious of, and takes part in, this conflict. We do not in judging a man accept *his* opinion of himself. No more in the study of a social revolution ought our judgment to be based on men's opinions of it, but rather ought we to seek the explanation of the thoughts and feelings of those living in such a period in the contradictions of their material life, in the conflict between production and organization. A society never dies until all the productive forces which can find scope within it have reached their full development, and a new and higher form of social life cannot take its place until the material conditions of existence of the new society have been given birth by the old. . . . In broad outlines, we can trace the following periods of economic and social development: the oriental, the ancient, the feudal, the bourgeois. The bourgeois organization is the last *antagonistic* form of the productive process, antagonistic . . . in the sense of an antagonism growing out of the social and economic conditions of individuals. The productive forces growing up within the bourgeois society, however, are creating the material conditions for the solution of this antagonism."

We find in this passage, stated explicitly, a theory of social development basing all social life on economic factors. We find implied a theory of knowledge which regards man's mental activity as a reflection of physical conditions, and a monistic philosophy which denies freedom of will and looks upon human life, individual and social, as a part of nature and in a process of evolution. In the use of such terms as *contradiction* and *antagonism*, in the announcement of an antagonism created by forces within a given society and its solution by forces arising within the same society, there is an echo of the Hegelian dialectic. Hegel, as usually interpreted, regarded the world as an evolution of mind, in which thought in its development creates a contradiction within itself, but develops also a solution of the contradiction, a reconciliation of opposites in a higher unity—a process of logical evolution marked by the phases thesis—anti-thesis—synthesis. Marx saw only a material development, but this he was disposed to view as a dialectic process, a constant development of contradictions to be solved by some

synthesis. This leaning to the methods of the Hegelian dialectic distinguishes his theory from the modern idea of evolution. Applied to an interpretation of the present industrial system, it attains its greatest interest. It beholds the development of a contradiction in this system that will lead, with inevitable logic, to its own solution, to a "synthesis" in socialism.¹

Socialism is not advocated on moral grounds by Marxists. Why apply ethics to the course of nature? Socialism is as indifferent ethically and yet as certain as the rising and setting of the sun. Unable to meet the objections that may be urged against any conceivable collectivist régime, the Marxist might say, with a shrug of his shoulders: "It is coming, whether we like it or no. It is fate." He might choose not to exert himself for its realization, because it will come of itself. Such consistent inaction, however, is repugnant to the normal man, and gives no scope to political ambition. To the proletariat there would be at least an intellectual satisfaction, if not also a tactical advantage, in the consciousness of the inevitable part it is to play in the great historical drama. There is, to the joy of the Marxist, a class conflict. The contradictions within a society that compel its overthrow manifest themselves in a struggle between economic classes, and every great revolution in history appears as the work of some one class. The issue of the present struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat will be the triumph of the latter, the "dictatorship" (*Diktatur*) of the proletariat. It is not, however, until the contradictions of the present system have fully developed, not until capitalism has run its course, that the new order can take the place of the old. Hence the need of patience, and all the greater need because there is no ground of hope for any great improvement of the laborer's condition under the present

¹ This thought finds its clearest expression in the writings of Engels. See his *Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*, 1878, and the chapters taken from that work and published under the title *Entwicklung des Socialismus*. (English translation: *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, in Social Science Series.)

system. In fact it is a question whether, from the Marxian point of view, all attempts to improve the laborer's condition under the existing system ought not to meet the sternest opposition. Such partial reforms, it might be argued, weaken that antagonism within the present order that drives us on to socialism, and, in attempting to make conditions more tolerable, only prolong the agony and postpone the coming of the better order of society. This, apparently, not illogical conclusion has been drawn by some followers of Marx, but, to the leaders of a political party, such consistency is out of question. The laborers' vote is not won by opposing measures giving him some immediate relief, and the social democracy, a laboring man's party, has therefore given a prominent place to reforms in taxation and to factory legislation.

To the materialistic conception, sketched above, must be joined the theory of value and distribution developed in *Das Kapital* to obtain the complete Marxian creed. This creed is at the basis of the Erfurt Program, and may be regarded as more fundamental and authoritative for the Social Democratic Party than the Program itself. To the student of the history of thought it appears scarcely credible that a system so comprehensive as that of Karl Marx could maintain itself for a single generation except as an object of blind devotion. More than half a century, however, has passed since, in a time of political excitement and intensest mental activity, there came to the mind of Marx, in outline, the characteristic features of his system. For about forty years he and Friedrich Engels labored to extend and complete it. After the death of Marx in 1883, Engels continued alone the work until death, in 1895, removed him also from his still unfinished task. Whatever Marxism may have been in the minds of these co-operating thinkers, their followers certainly fell into confusion. The chief elements in the thought of Marx can be easily stated; it is the connection between them that presents difficulties.

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It may be doubted whether Marx himself ever completely unified his thought. His followers certainly have proved unequal to the strain of holding together, in bonds of logic, the scattered ideas found in his works. Marxism as an historical phenomenon, as a general movement of thought and not as the opinions of an individual thinker, has been a group of loosely connected ideas of which first one and then another has been emphasized according to the exigencies of political controversy.

Increasing the confusion due to the difficulty of interpretation, is the insufficiency of the Marxian system in the face of new knowledge and changed conditions. Material that is now antiquated was built into it at the beginning. The intellectual atmosphere has undergone a change. Ricardo and Adam Smith, in the forties and fifties, still exercised such authority that the labor theory of value could be taken, almost without question, as one of the premises of economic reasoning. Hegelianism had not yet spent its force. Though largely rejected or given a materialistic turn, as by Feuerbach and Marx, it had yet entered so deeply into German thought as to be used unconsciously. To the German of the latter years of the nineteenth century it has become unintelligible. Among the younger Marxists the dialectic process, with its automatic movement, has been given up in favor of a theory of social evolution based on a conscious class struggle. The Hegelian lingo of Marx and Engels is still piously repeated, but it is little understood. Furthermore, the political atmosphere has changed. Marx's early manhood was spent in the midst of the agitation for constitutional reform of the forties, of the revolutionary excitement of 1848, and of the gloom that set in with the reaction of the years following '48. There settled into his thought a revolutionary spirit, a hatred of governments that does not appeal to the generation grown up since general manhood suffrage brought government under the power of popular opinion. Industrial conditions

also have changed, and that sufficiently to suggest a correction of several socialistic tenets.

Slowly, almost imperceptibly, the faith of the Social Democratic Party has been moving away from the earlier formulations. Orthodoxy is breaking down. Of this the declarations made by Eduard Bernstein and his sympathizers give the clearest evidence. There is not much that is altogether new in Bernstein's writings. Indeed the bitterness of the controversy his views have given rise to within the party is not easily explained. In part the intense interest may be due to the general recognition of Bernstein's ability and importance. He has been ranked with Kautsky and Conrad Schmidt among the ablest living leaders of German socialism, has enjoyed the friendship of Friedrich Engels, has contributed extensively to the social democratic press and edited the works of Lassalle, has written scholarly articles on the English labor movement, and has been identified with Marxism for twenty years or more. For a long period he was banished from Germany. These years of exile were spent in London, and probably broadened his views and saved him from a crabbed Marxist orthodoxy. Very recently he has received permission to return to Germany. In the years 1896 to 1898 he published in the *Neue Zeit*, under the title "*Probleme des Socialismus*," a series of articles criticising current interpretations of Marxian socialism. A lively discussion followed in socialistic circles. From what may be called the "Old School Marxists" his views met with sweeping disapproval. One writer, "Parvus," went so far as to remark in the *Sächsische Arbeiterzeitung*, that these views, if true, would mean the end of socialism. To bring matters to a head, it appears, Bernstein sent an address to the annual convention of the party held in Stuttgart, October, 1898. Further controversy followed, leading to the publication of Bernstein's *Voraussetzungen des Socialismus*, in the spring of 1899. Articles for and against his views then appeared in rapid succession in the *Neue Zeit* and in the

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Sozialistische Monatshefte.¹ Most conspicuous among the defenders of Old School Marxism is Karl Kautsky, whose little book, *Bernstein u. das Sozial demokratische Programm*, 1899, was published with the avowed hope of disposing of the annoying subject of Bernsteinism, and may be regarded as the ablest recent exposition and defence of the views attacked by Bernstein. In a collection entitled *Zur Geschichte u. Theorie des Socialismus*, Bernstein has republished some articles in reply to attacks on his *Voraussetzungen*. The latter work with some of the controversial papers in *Zur Geschichte u. Theorie des Socialismus*, may be taken as the ripest expression of his thought, and will be made the basis of the summary of his views given below.

The question, Is Bernstein a Marxist? will puzzle the reader of his works. In his departure from current interpretations of the faith he often appears anxious to lean on the authority of Marx and Engels. On other occasions he flatly contradicts Marx himself. He distinguishes between pure and applied theory. The former, consisting of propositions of general validity, constitutes the relatively permanent portions of a science. The latter, made up of applications of the general theory of a practical and detailed nature, is more subject to change. The pure theory of Marxism includes the materialistic philosophy of history (and implied in this the doctrine of class conflict), the theory of surplus value and of the tendencies of present industrial society. This careful distinction between pure and applied, permanent and variable, lead to the expectation that Bernstein, the old Marxist, would direct destructive criticism against the applied theory only. The pure theory of Marxism, however, receives corrections that amount to an abandonment of some of its fundamental propositions.

¹ The *Monatshefte* are the organ of the Bernstein socialists and may be considered the ablest and most scholarly of socialistic periodical publications.

II.

It will be convenient to begin the summary of Bernstein's views with the more theoretical portions of Marxism, taking up first the theory of value and surplus value. His discussion of this subject constitutes one of the least important and least satisfactory chapters in the *Voraussetzungen*. It shows keen thought, but reaches no very definite conclusions. In the third volume of *Das Kapital*, published in 1894, Marx declared market value equal to cost of production, the average rate of profit being one of the elements of cost. He appeared thus to have surrendered the labor theory of value, upon which the reasoning of the first two volumes was based, and which had become an article of faith to his followers. The third volume brought confusion into the Marxist camp as regards the theory of value, and Bernstein's skeptical attitude toward the Marxian treatment of this problem is not, therefore, especially significant. If commodities exchange in proportion to the cost of production what becomes of the view that the exchange takes place in proportion to the average, socially necessary labor time devoted to their production? Is the old labor theory of value to be regarded as a description of conditions existing prior to, or at the beginning of, the modern capitalistic period and projecting their influence into the period? This view, suggested in the third volume of *Das Kapital*, and later amplified and defended by Engels in an article in the *Neue Zeit*, Bernstein rejects. Or is the labor theory to be taken as a mere device of thought, a means of analysis and illustration employed to show the operation of exploitation and the rise of surplus value? The labor time used in the production of the total of commodities is, according to Marx's third volume, their social value. The excess of the total product over total wages gives us total social surplus. Marx, in assuming that a given commodity sells in proportion to its labor value, uses the given single instance to picture what takes place in pro-

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duction as a whole and viewed collectively. So Bernstein interprets Marx, but admits that this surreptitious introduction of the concept of collective social production into the discussion of the existing system is rather arbitrary. The theory of labor value, he further states, is misleading in that it tempts us to take labor value as a measure of the exploitation of the laborer by the capitalist. It does not give a correct measure, even if we take society as a whole and place over against total wages the total of other forms of income. The theory also gives no measure of the justice or injustice of distribution. In taking justice into consideration Bernstein departs widely from the Marxian point of view. Marx held that the laborer does not receive the entire product of his labor, that he is being robbed. His socialism, however, was not a demand, made in the name of justice, but a forecast of the course of evolution.

In this chapter on the theory of value, it appears that Bernstein has knowledge of the Austrian theory of value and finds some truth in it. His attitude towards it aroused the ire of Karl Kautsky and perhaps not without reason. If the Austrian theory, through the attention called to it by Bernstein, gains adherents among socialists, it may go hard with the Marxian views of value and distribution. Bernstein, it may be remarked in this connection, unlike most socialists, is not unwilling to learn from the "bourgeois" economists and shows acquaintance with their works.

Before the appearance of the third volume of *Das Kapital*, a large part of economic literature conveyed the impression that the theory of surplus value was the essential element of Marxism. Since its appearance, and the confusion it has wrought in the views of German socialists on value, discussion is turning more about the materialistic conception of history, and this is regarded as par excellence Marx's contribution to socialistic thought. None will deny, says Bernstein, that the most fundamental part of Marxism is its theory of history. With it the whole system stands or falls.

To the extent that it is subjected to limitations all remaining portions are affected. Now the question as to the truth of the materialistic conception of history, he continues, is the question of the *degree of historical necessity*. According to materialism everything is the result of necessary movements of matter, everything is determined and a link in a chain of causation. The materialist is a Calvinist without God. Applied to history, materialism means the affirmation of the necessity of all history. The only question the materialist need consider is through what channels necessity takes its course, what part must be assigned to nature, what to economic factors, to legal institutions, or to man's ideas. Marx considers the productive forces and organization (*die materiellen Produktivkräfte u. Produktionsverhältnisse*) the determining factor. Engels, however, states that productive forces are only the *final* cause. The mental life also is a cause. "The political, legal, philosophic, religious, literary and artistic lines of development rest on the economic. But they all react on one another *and* on the economic" (Letter of Engels in *Sozialistischer Akademiker*, October, 1895). The question at issue is to what extent non-economic factors control history. The economic are on the whole predominant, in Bernstein's opinion, but mental forces are controlling life to an increasing extent. As their power increases a change takes place in the sway of so-called historic necessity. On the one hand we have an increasing insight into the laws of development, and especially of economic development, and on the other, a resulting growth of ability to direct and control this development. Society has greater freedom theoretically with reference to economic factors than at any time before, and it is only a conflict of interests that prevents the practical realization of this theoretic freedom. However, the common, as opposed to private, interests, are gaining ground and, to that extent, economic forces cease to be elemental powers. Their development is anticipated and, therefore, takes place more readily and rapidly. Individuals and

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nations are thus withdrawing an ever greater proportion of their life from the influence of a necessity acting without or against their volition. Necessity is less absolute. This view of history, which he regards as the developed form of Marx's thought, Bernstein names *economic* conception, in preference to *materialistic* conception. The Marxian theory of history, unlike philosophical materialism, he claims, does not involve determinism. It does not attribute to economic factors absolute power.

This view of Bernstein seems to rest on a misconception of the Marxian system of thought. Marx certainly was a determinist and Engels, while admitting that the economic factor is only final cause, did not intend to represent it as one of several co-ordinate causes, nor to deny necessity in the action of forces other than the economic. Bernstein in his *Voraussetzungen* looks at the immediate causes of historical phenomena only. These may indeed be predominantly mental or ideal rather than economic. Behind these, however, according to consistent Marxism, lie others, reaching back to the fundamental cause, the economic factor, the productive process. By lengthening the process of causation, by inserting mental forces in the chain that extends from the economic condition up to given historical phenomena, we do not diminish the "degree of necessity." The inserted mental forces themselves are determined. They are a part, not an interruption of, the chain of causation. It may be questioned, too, whether it is possible to conceive of *degrees* of necessity. In philosophy, Bernstein is clearly not a disciple of Marx. It may be stated, however, that he evades or overlooks the philosophic question, the problem of the ultimate principle. He is, in fact, not pre-eminently a philosopher. The fundamental issue between mental and economic forces, in the Marxian view of history, is not their relative weight as immediate causes of historical events, but the question of priority in the evolution of life. From the beginning of human life they have acted and developed side

by side. The question, therefore, is one of the origin and nature of mind. This problem of origin, however, is not one that Marxists have generally recognized as the fundamental one. Marx did not complete his system, and Engels only partially worked out a philosophic theory. Woltmann¹ appears to be the only recent social democratic writer who gives evidence of philosophical training and has attacked the fundamental problem. Claiming that Marx, the philosopher, is as great if not greater than Marx the economist, he aims to show what is necessary to the completion of his system.

In the confusion prevailing among the professed followers of Marx and in the mind of Bernstein, it is difficult to state precisely how widely the latter has diverged from the true Marxists in the field of philosophy. It is noteworthy, however, that he assigns greater importance to ethical ideals as forces in the socialistic movement than has been customary among German socialists. He appeals to justice. He urges the need of a moral elevation of the proletariat. His teachings, if they prevailed, would give a tone to social democratic agitation very different from that which it has received from Marx's almost contemptuous attitude towards ethical considerations. Bernstein's ethical idealism may rest on feeling rather than on a well-reasoned philosophy, or he may have found his way unconsciously into the current of a new philosophic movement. To place the bases of Marxism in the crucible of criticism, or to evolve new systems of thought will be the task of others who are better fitted, but whatever faith one may have in the mission of the philosopher and in the compelling power of logic, a man like Bernstein is certain to exert a more immediate and obvious influence on a political movement than a more profound and less popular thinker. Bernstein's idealistic tendencies, therefore, may yet prove to be of the greatest significance.

¹ *Der historische Materialismus. Darstellungen und Kritik der marxistischen Weltanschauung, 1900.*

Passing now to problems of a less general and theoretic nature, the Marxian diagnosis of modern industrial tendencies with its affirmation of an irresistible movement toward socialism may be taken up first. According to Marx, Engels and the Erfurt Program, capitalism is doomed because capital, the means of appropriating the product of society, is falling into the hands of an ever smaller number of great capitalists, while the concentration of industry is effecting the organization of the constantly growing proportion of rebellious humanity that constitutes the proletariat. This Bernstein designates the theory of collapse, *die Zusammenbruchstheorie*. It implies that the middle classes are disappearing, the rich diminishing, and the poor growing in number. Closely related to it is the so-called *Verelendungstheorie*, the pauperization theory, which holds that the masses are sinking into ever deeper poverty. Bernstein's argument controverting the *Zusammenbruchstheorie* has proved especially unpalatable to the "old school." He argues first that capital is not falling into the hands of a diminishing number of capitalists. The corporate organization of production makes possible a wide diffusion of capital in the shape of stocks and bonds. Immense wealth in the ownership of a few capitalists is not necessary for the construction of large business units. Capital can be concentrated by bringing together the holdings of a large number of small stockholders. Control over, not ownership of, large capital is necessary to the captains of industry. Statistical data are incomplete, but show that the securities of the great "trusts" of to-day are scattered among a very considerable number of holders. More complete evidence that the propertied classes are not diminishing in number can be obtained from income tax statistics. Not only are the propertied classes not diminishing, Bernstein concludes, but they are increasing both absolutely and relatively.

The same conclusion can be reached deductively. Modern

methods of production have brought about an immense increase in the *per capita* product. It is not possible for a few capitalists and their families to consume all of this increase. Its consumption can be accounted for only on the assumption that it goes either to the proletariat or to the middle classes. It is the latter that in Bernstein's opinion, are receiving a larger share of the social dividend. If the proletariat, beguiled by Marxian predictions, expects to wait until the great capitalists have ruined the lesser ones before it expropriates the entire capitalist class, it must content itself to wait an indefinitely long time. But, says Bernstein, it is time to abandon the superstition that the realization of socialism depends on the concentration of capital in the ownership of a few. Whether the social surplus is appropriated by ten thousand monopolists, or is distributed in various amounts among half a million, is a matter of indifference to the great majority, the nine or ten million families who lose by the transaction.

The attack on the theory of collapse is continued by statistical evidence to show that industry is not becoming consolidated in large concerns at a very rapid rate. Although in an increasing number of industries production on a large scale is displacing the small producer, there is a considerable number of industries in which production on a small or medium scale is holding its own. Not all industries develop in the same manner, not all are destined soon to become centralized in a few immense organizations. Manufactures and commerce show a less rapid centralization than socialistic theorists have assumed. In agriculture in Europe, and in part in America, there is a movement directly counter to socialistic predictions. Large farms are decreasing in number, small and middle sized farms are increasing. It is not true, therefore, that a rapid centralization of production is gathering together as a wretched proletariat the great mass of humanity, organizing men as producers in large workshops and on large farms and making the expropriation of a

small group of capitalists and the collective management of the highly centralized economic system an easy and inevitable matter.

Somewhat vague expectations of a collapse of capitalism are, in the minds of German socialists, associated with industrial crises. These hasten the ruin of the small capitalist and the disappearance of the middle class. They are regarded as ominous indications of the impossibility of capitalism, of its inability to control its own productive forces. "The contradictions inherent in the movements of capitalist society," wrote Marx in 1873, "impress themselves upon the practical bourgeois most strikingly in the changes of the periodic cycle through which modern industry runs and whose crowning point is the universal crisis. That crisis is once again approaching, although it is but yet in its preliminary stage."¹ The extension of the world's market, socialists are disposed to hold, merely increases the scope and intensity of the contradictions of capitalism. Engels states in one place that improved methods of transportation and the extension of the field open to investment of the excess of European capital have weakened the tendencies toward a crisis, but later remarks that all factors striving to prevent a repetition of former experiences are merely preparatory to a greater crash. The time between crises has lengthened, but the delay of the next crisis indicates the coming of a universal crash of unparalleled violence. Another possibility, however, admitted by Engels, is that the periodic appearance of acute distress will give way to a more chronic trouble, short periods of slight improvement in business being followed by long, indecisive periods of depression. In the years that have elapsed since Engels wrote, his expectations have not been fulfilled. There are no indications, remarks Bernstein, of the great catastrophe, nor can business prosperity be characterized as especially short-lived. There is a third possibility. The extension of the market, the increasing

¹ Preface Second Edition of *Das Kapital*.

facility of transportation and communication, may equalize or diffuse disturbances, while the increased wealth of industrial countries, the greater elasticity of credit, and the action of trusts may diminish the action of local and special disturbances on the general course of industry. General crises in that case need not be expected for years to come. Reckless speculation is less certain to make trouble now than in the past. Speculation is determined by the proportion of knowable to unknowable factors. It is most dangerously active when the unknown plays a large part, as at the beginning of the capitalistic era, in new countries, and in new industries. The older the use of modern methods in any industry the weaker is the speculative element. The movements of the market are better known, its changes more accurately estimated. Of course, competition and the possible appearance of inventions preclude an absolute control of the market and, in some degree, overproduction is inevitable. Overproduction in a few industries is, however, not synonymous with general crisis. To lead to a general crisis the industries immediately affected must be such large consumers of the products of other industries that their suspension causes a wide-spread stoppage, or the effect on the money market must be such as to result in a general paralysis of business. It stands to reason, however, that the greater the wealth of a country and the stronger its organization of credit, the less is the likelihood of disturbances in a few industries bringing about a general crisis. Bernstein concludes in regard to the possibility of avoiding crises that the problem cannot be solved at present. We can only point to what forces tend toward a break down, and what forces tend to prevent it. What the resultant will be we do not know. Local and partial depressions are inevitable. Unforeseen external factors, such as wars or an unusually widespread failure of crops, may cause a universal industrial crisis, but, aside from such possibilities, there is no conclusive reason for expecting a general stoppage of the

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world's industry. Socialists need base no hopes upon a universal crash.

A condition precedent to the accomplishment of socialism, according to German socialists, is the crushing out of the small manufacturer and farmer and the centralization of industry. This is to be the mission of capitalism. Capitalists, in short, are to organize production and then to be turned out by the proletariat. The latter is to gain control of the government while the work of the capitalistic consolidation is still proceeding. As, however, the centralization of production is taking place rather slowly, Bernstein argues, it will be a long time ere the government can undertake the management of all industry. It could not deal with the enormous number of small and middle-sized producing concerns. The proletarian state would, therefore, be obliged to leave their management in the hands of their present capitalist owners, or, if it insisted on turning these out, to entrust all productive concerns to co-operative organizations of laborers. It is mainly through the gradual extension of co-operation, not through the assumption of direct control of all production by a central political power, that Bernstein expects to see the socialist's ideal fulfilled. In this he departs widely from Marx and the old-school social democrats. If socialism is to be the work of the co-operative movement it will be long in coming. Productive co-operation, Bernstein points out in an especially interesting chapter, has made but slow progress. Distributive co-operation has been successful. Socialists have not generally been very eager advocates of such organizations of buyers. Bernstein, however, holds that their work is well worth doing. They serve to retain in the hands of the laboring class a considerable portion of the social dividend that otherwise would be diverted to the middleman's profit and would thus strengthen the position of the propertied classes. The large profits gained by such organizations in England show that the socialistic doctrine that the laborer is exploited

as producer rather than as consumer must suffer considerable limitation. Productive co-operation has achieved less. The larger concerns that have tried it usually failed to secure able leadership and discipline among the workers. Democracy in the workshop is a failure when the scale of operation is large. The idea that the modern factory trains the laborer for co-operative work is erroneous. The most successful co-operative producing concerns are those that are financed by some trades union or some organization of consumers and thus are producing, not primarily for the profit of their own employees, but for some larger body, of which their employees are, or may become, members. It is by such combination, with distributive co-operation, that productive co-operation may yet prove its feasibility. It has a future, but necessarily its development will be slow. In agriculture the problem of making the laborers capitalists and of organizing them as a democracy of co-operating producers is especially difficult, and yet it is a problem the Social Democratic Party cannot afford to neglect.

The first condition upon which, in the Marxian program, the realization of collectivism depends is the centralization of industry. A second condition is the seizure of the supreme political power by the proletariat. This step may be taken by legal means or by violence. Marx and Engels, until late in life, were disposed to think that some violent measures would be necessary. There are socialists who are still of this opinion. Violence is, at least, often declared to do quicker work. The thought that the laboring class is numerically the strongest easily suggests that it can force itself into power and at once effect a radical change. Those who derive no income from property or privilege constitute indeed the majority in all advanced countries, but this "proletariat," Bernstein points out, consists of very diverse elements. They may, under the existing system, have common or similar interests, but, if the present propertyed

and ruling classes were once deposed, differences in interests would soon appear. The modern wage-earners are not the homogeneous mass suggested by Marxian phraseology. In the most advanced industrial centres especially there exists the greatest differentiation. Diversity of occupation and income result in diversity of character. Even if the industrial workers were not thus broken up into groups of differing interests, there are other dissimilar classes, such as public officials, commercial employees and agricultural laborers. The employees of factories and house industries constitute in Germany less than half of those engaged in earning a livelihood. The remaining classes include the greatest social contrasts. In the rural districts there is no evidence of a class consciousness or of a class struggle such as that waged by the organized factory laborer with his capitalist employer. To the majority of agricultural laborers socialization of production can be little more than an unmeaning phrase. Their cherished hope is to become landowners. Even among factory workers the desire for collectivism is not universal. There has been a steady increase of votes cast for the Social Democratic Party, but not all of these voters are socialists. In Germany, the country in which the party has made its greatest advance, social democratic voters number somewhat less than half of the industrial workers. Over one-half, therefore, of this class are indifferent or hostile to socialism. It is still a far cry to the day predicted by Marx and Engels when a united proletariat, conscious of its mission, deposes the few capitalists still remaining, and inaugurates an era in which there shall be no classes and no class wars.

To exercise the hoped for "dictatorship," the proletariat, Bernstein holds, is not yet sufficiently matured. Unless workingmen themselves have developed strong economic organizations, and through training in self-governing bodies have attained a high degree of self-reliance, the rule of the proletariat would be the rule of petty orators and litterateurs.

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There is a cant in regard to the virtues and possibilities of the laborer against which Bernstein earnestly protests. Socialistic hackwriters and demagogues have given a thoroughly false picture of the class. The workingman is neither the pauperized wreck some socialistic phrases depict, nor, on the other hand, is he completely free from prejudices and foibles. He has the virtues and vices incident to his economic and social position. These cannot change in a day. The most sweeping revolution can raise the general level of a nation only a little. Economic conditions enter into consideration. Engels confesses that not until what would to-day be considered a very high development of productive capacity has been reached, can the total product be so large that the abolition of classes would not result disastrously. Meanwhile, Bernstein urges, the proletariat needs to cherish the homely virtues of thrift and industry. The cheap contempt for what they style "the bourgeois virtues" affected by socialist litterateurs is fortunately not entertained by the leaders of the trades union and co-operative movements. For these organizations the shiftless, homeless proletariat is poor material. It is not surprising that in England so many labor leaders, whether socialists or not, favor the temperance movement. Everything tending to confuse the moral sense of the worker is an injury to the cause of labor. It is deplorable, therefore, that part of the labor press affects the tone of the literary decadents. A class that is striving to rise needs a vigorous morality, not cynicism. The proletariat needs an ideal. The view that material factors are omnipotent, that they alone can lead to a better social order, is false.

Democracy is both means and end of the socialistic movement—industrial democracy in the trades union and co-operative movement, and political democracy, through legislation, aiming to realize the same ideals. Democracy, Bernstein states, implies the absence of class oppression. It is not the tyranny of the proletariat mob over other classes. The fears

of its revolutionary tendencies felt by conservatives prove to be groundless as democracy develops. It is only at the beginning of democratic movements that conservatives are chilled and radicals cheered by visions of blood and flame. The majority will not oppress the minority, because the majority of to-day may be the minority of to-morrow. Nor can democracy perform miracles of rapid reform. Kings and ministers of state have often moved faster than the governments of the most democratic countries. The latter have the advantage of not being subject to reaction. They go steadily, though often very slowly, forward in the direction of the ideal. Much already has been accomplished. The material condition of the laboring class has been improved. Exploitation on the part of the capitalist is being checked. Class privileges are being abolished. The proletarian is made a citizen and gradually raised to the level of the bourgeois. There is a great movement that is reconstructing society and realizing socialistic ideals as they become practicable. This movement, in Bernstein's mind, ought to be the chief care of the socialist. The collectivist goal is in comparison a matter of indifference.

The Social Democratic Party ought not needlessly to antagonize classes other than the proletariat. The opposition of these classes would delay the achievement of that political democracy that must precede the realization of social democracy. Germany is not yet democratic in the political sense. Some socialists would object that German institutions cannot be reformed except through violence, inasmuch as the German bourgeoisie is growing more reactionary. For the time being this may be the case, although there are many facts pointing to the contrary view. It cannot long continue to be true. What is called the bourgeoisie is of a composite character. Its diverse elements can be fused into a reactionary mass only through their fear of social democracy as their common enemy. Some bourgeois behold in the socialistic party a menace to their material

welfare, others an enemy to religion, others still oppose it on patriotic grounds as the party of revolution. Such fears ought not to exist. The leaders of the social democracy ought to make it plain that it does not menace all and that it has no fondness for violent measures. Many of the bourgeoisie feel an economic pressure that might lead them to make common cause with the working class, but they are repelled by violent utterances.

Let the Social Democratic Party, Bernstein urges, appear in its true colors as a party of socialistic *reform*. Let it discard its revolutionary phraseology. Let it be consistent. Its efforts for immediate and partial reforms are not consistent with the expectation of a great smashing of the present industrial order. Socialism will not come all in a moment amidst scenes of horror. There will be no sudden rising of enslaved masses against a handful of capitalist tyrants. If such were in truth to be the coming of socialism, it would be folly for the party not to promote in every way the accumulation of capital and power in the hands of the few instead of proposing the exact reverse, as it does, for example, in its policy regarding taxation. Socialism, however, will be attained gradually; its blessings will not be withheld from mankind until the great day of the wrath of the proletariat. Whatever its *cant* may indicate, the party is to-day a party of reform, not of revolution. Recent occurrences prove this. Bebel, one of the old school, with reference to recent anarchistic plots, protested earnestly against the idea that the party approved of violence. All the party papers quoted approvingly. Not one dissented. Kautsky, also of the old school, makes suggestions, in his work on the agrarian question, that are entirely in the direction of democratic reforms. The municipal program adopted by social democrats at Brandenburg is one of democratic reform. The representatives of the party in the Reichstag have expressed themselves in favor of boards of arbitration as a means of securing industrial peace. In Stuttgart social democrats

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joined with a bourgeois democratic group to form a fusion ticket. In other towns in Württemberg their example has been followed. Socialistic trades unions are advocating the establishment of municipal employment bureaus representing employer and employee. In several cities, Hamburg and Elberfeld for instance, socialists and trades unionists have formed societies for co-operative distribution. Everywhere it is a movement for reform, for democracy, for social progress.

Bernstein is opposed to the anti-national attitude of his party. The oft-quoted statement of the Communistic Manifesto that the proletarian has no fatherland he declares to be false. It may have been true of the proletarian of the forties who was without political rights, it is not true of the workingman of to-day. There are national interests, the importance of which, in his enthusiasm for a cosmopolitan labor movement, the socialist should not disregard. If the Social Democratic Party gets into power it will need a foreign policy. The party rightly objects to the irresponsibility of the executive in foreign affairs. It is in favor of international arbitration; but it ought not to sacrifice national interests. Germany, for instance, has interests in China and should be in a position to defend them. In an article in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, it may be added, Bernstein gives a qualified approval to a policy of expansion, even conceding under certain circumstances a right of conquest.

III.

From the above summary of Bernstein's views it appears that he is not an orthodox Marxist. He is still a socialist and, in a sense, a believer in the class conflict, although hoping that in the future this conflict will be waged with less bitterness and always by legal means. He cannot be called the originator of an entirely new movement within the Social Democratic Party. In rejecting materialism he was preceded by Konrad Schmidt (in *Sozialistischer Akademiker*, 1896),

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the first apparently among German Marxists to urge a return to a Kantian standpoint in philosophy, a movement that now has a respectable following among German socialists.¹ The pauperization theory received severe criticism from *Bruno Schönlank* a few years ago, and seems at best to have had only a weak hold on the better informed members of the party. In his protests against violence Bernstein has many predecessors, among them Engels and, in a degree, Marx himself. That agriculture was not fully bearing out Marxian predictions in regard to centralization of production, and that special tactics were necessary in agitating for socialism in the rural districts, had not altogether escaped the notice of the party leaders. In urging a conciliatory policy towards classes other than the proletariat and towards other political parties, Bernstein had the example of Georg von Vollmar, leader of the Bavarian socialists. In fact, the "compromise" or "opportunist" policy, the policy of temporary coalitions with other parties, has of late been seriously agitated in the leading countries of the continent. It is of course bitterly opposed by the grim, old agitators of the class conflict. In Belgium, however, socialists have combined with liberals against clericals; in France the socialist Millerand is a member of the cabinet under a "bourgeois" government; in Austria social democrats and liberals have together been trying to hold back Christian social conservatives, and in Bavaria, social democrats have combined with the Catholic party against so-called liberals. A change is taking place in the attitude of European socialists. Socialistic parties are no longer so exclusively the champions of the proletariat, nor the irreconcilable enemies of other classes and parties. Meanwhile misgivings in regard to doctrinal matters are appearing even among the Marx-ridden socialists of Germany, and almost every tenet of the social democratic faith has suffered some limitation.

Why then did Bernstein's calm and scholarly articles call

¹ Woltmann, above mentioned, also takes a "Neo-Kantian" view.

forth such bitter attacks? His only important addition to the heresies troubling the "old" school was the demonstration of the persistence of the middle class. In this there was nothing new, of course, to the bourgeois economists. To Marxists it was perhaps a disagreeable novelty. The bitterness of the controversy arouses the suspicion that personal rivalries among leaders and would-be leaders have envenomed the discussion. Much also may be due to the fact that Marxism is to many a religion, an object of faith, in whose defence they will fight. Bernstein representing the scientific, critical spirit, naturally arouses their anger. The controversy grows out of differences of temperament. The two schools, the old and the new, the grim, old irreconcilables, Kautsky, Liebknecht, Bebel, on the one hand, and the more modern and practical Bernstein, Vollmer, David, Heine, Auer, and Schippel on the other, are affected differently by current political and industrial events. The Kaiser's speeches and the blunders of the government are enough to keep an irascible nature like Kautsky's stirred to constant fury against government and bourgeoisie. At the time the controversy arose the government's ill-advised attempt to secure Draconian legislation against criticism of religion, monarchy, the family and private property, was still being discussed. Kautsky sees in such attempts proof of the incurably reactionary character of the present government and ruling classes. Bernstein regards them as merely a passing phase, a bubble floating on the great current setting towards democracy. Kautsky cannot reconcile himself to the admission into the Social Democratic Party of elements other than the proletariat. Writing in the *Neue Zeit*, just before the party convention of 1899, he pointed to two tendencies within the party, the proletariat and the democratic. The approaching convention, he maintained, would have to choose between them. If the democratic tendency for which Bernstein stood prevailed, the proletariat, although still occupying the leading position, would not be carrying out an independent class

policy, and a split would soon appear in the party. At about the same time, an article by Bernstein appeared in the *Vorwärts*, in which he proposed to change the clause in the Erfurt Program stating that socialism can be brought about only by the proletariat (*kann nur das Werk der Arbeiterklasse sein*) to *must be mainly* the task of the proletariat (*muss in erster Linie, etc.*).

The question to which Kautsky expected a definitive answer at the convention received but an ambiguous reply. Resolutions brought in by Bebel, adopted by the convention, and subscribed by Bernstein and his followers, permit coalitions with other political parties on special occasions. They also declare that the party maintains a neutral attitude towards the co-operative movement, but attributes no great importance to it. These are concessions to the Bernstein wing. This group desired more, no doubt, but, in any case, the resolutions are as far removed from Marxism as from Bernsteinism. Bebel declared himself pleased that by subscribing to the resolutions the erring Bernstein had returned to the fold. That the old leaders of the party, however, had yielded somewhat to the new movement is revealed by the action of a few extreme Marxists who refused their assent to the resolutions.

Recent events and present tendencies give some ground for the expectation that social democracy on the Continent will become a democratic rather than a purely proletarian movement. If such proves to be the case, if the party no longer represents one class, it must become moderate and lay less stress on class war. Then, perhaps, as some have suggested, the most bitter outbreaks of class conflict will take place, not in the political arena, but in the struggle between trades union and employer. With strong social reform parties representing the common people in local and national politics, and with vigorous trades unions and co-operative societies, the social movement on the Continent may come to resemble more closely than before that of the great Eng-

lish-speaking democracies. In any case, the practical tone of English socialists, of the French possibilists, and the Bernstein wing of the German social democracy, indicates that the best talent in the service of the socialistic cause to-day is opposed to violence and to class hatred, and is comparatively moderate in its expectations and methods.

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THE PROFITS AND VOLUME OF CAPITAL.

Are the profits of capital regulated by natural law, and what determines the volume of capital in a country? Why are the profits of capital greatest among people the least civilized, and why greater in new countries than in old? What prevents the gains from compound interest absorbing again and again the wealth of the world? And lastly, should the land and franchise values of a country be included in its stock of capital? The purpose of this paper is the attempt to answer these questions and to apply some of the conclusions to present day problems.

Three terms require definition and consideration—nature, man, and that which man makes from nature. Nature and her powers may be called land. Man's activities may be designated labor. Labor applied to land produces capital.¹ In reasoning concerning these elements they must be kept separate, and their products distinct. Rent arises from the use of land. Wages proceeds from labor. Profits (or interest) accrues to the owner from the use of capital.

Rent is that marginal product attributable to location on the earth's surface. It is a free gift of nature or of the "indestructible properties of the soil." Wages are the product resulting from man's activities, whether mental, moral or physical. Profits, or interest, is a product attributable to capital as certainly as rent is the product derived from land and wages from labor.

¹ The author of this paper reached his conclusions concerning the theory of interest and capital here presented, and had partly written the manuscript of the paper before he saw Professor Clark's "Theory of Distribution." Mr. Sawin states that "as far as I know I am not under obligations to the work of Clark."—THE EDITOR.

² Karl Knies in "Das Geld," p. 47, defines the capital of a community as its available stock of goods (whether for consumption, acquisition or production) which may be applied to satisfying wants in the future. "Capital is an immediate product of nature and labor, nothing more."—Böhm-Bawerk in "Positive Theory of Capital."

Capital means either the concrete objects that man has made for his gratification, or the "value" instead of "volume" of exchangeable commodities, the second meaning always having reference to a ratio of exchange. In the first sense, a ship is the same capital the day it loads its first cargo as it is the day it discharges its last cargo. In the second sense, it may be a capital of half a million dollars the first day, whereas on the last day its capital is its value as junk. Concrete capital is objective. It remains the same from the day it is made to the day it is discarded as of no more use. Value capital is subjective, springing entirely from the mind of man as shown in his desire to exchange his products or supply his needs. Its value is infinite if it is the crust of bread that saves a life, although the crust might have been thrown away by another for whom it had no value. A thing may be worth a million dollars one day, the next day be worthless because something better has been invented to take its place. The use of one term to cover two entirely different conceptions has prevented right conclusions in economic research; and it is only by keeping apart these two forms, and tracing the laws governing each separately that one can avoid current economic confusion and answer the questions just propounded.

Concrete capital, the simplest form, is the first in historic development and furnishes the basis of the second concept. Its most notable characteristic is its perishability. It is constantly turning back to nature, and varies in endurance from that possessed by foods, by clothing, by implements, by buildings, and by coined money, which is, probably, the most durable of useful capital. Nothing man can make endures forever.

In order to study the characteristics of concrete capital, observe its functions, and deduce the laws governing its profits and volume, it will be well to choose an article for illustration the use of which is not influenced by the factor rent. We will assume also that when the article is once

made, no repairs will be put upon it, since that would introduce fresh capital, and confuse the reasoning. In order to obviate the interference which invention makes with economic adjustment it will furthermore be assumed that the same kind of article will be used without improvement during man's passage from savagery to civilization. We will first study the functions of the single article during its term of usefulness, then include the human factor and see why and to what extent man will increase the number of such articles. By correctly analyzing simple conditions, we may correctly judge of the complex ones of to-day, and feel a confidence in our final conclusions.¹

Let it be assumed that in an Indian village one man conceives the idea of making, from wild hemp, a net to aid him in fishing, nets not having previously been used by his tribe. After he has made the net he finds that he can catch one hundred fish with the effort previously used to catch ten. Obviously ten fish is still his wages as before and ninety fish is the gross profit of his net. He will not let another use it except he receives ninety fish in payment as it would earn him that much if he used it himself. As long as the capital in nets is restricted to one, his wages will remain ten fish and ninety fish will be the gross profits derived from the net. If the ownership passes to another person the division of the results between profits and wages will remain the same.

It may now be assumed that the net would last five years, and that it would depreciate in quality at a uniform rate. The beginning of the second year the user could catch only eighty fish instead of one hundred, the gross profits having shrunk to seventy fish. The beginning of the third year he could catch but sixty, and his gross profits would be fifty. At the beginning of the fifth year he can catch but twenty, with a gross profit of ten fish; and nearing the end of the

¹ "In dealing with complex problems of an advancing economy, the key to success is the separate study of the static forces that constantly act within it."—*J. B. Clark in his "Distribution of Wealth," p. 61.*

first six months of the year he can catch only eleven, but he will still use the net, for without it he can catch but ten. At the beginning of the seventh month of the fifth year there will be no advantage derived from the use of the net. The owner may use it, but if he does, he will quit when it fails to catch him ten fish; the net having then passed beyond the margin of use. The margin of use is the initial point in the law governing the profits of capital.

The margin of use of capital is perfectly analogous to the margin of cultivation in the law governing the rent of land. The fishing net might be used till near the end of the five years, when it could catch but one fish; likewise land could be cultivated to the desert's edge and yield practically nothing; but such land would be beyond the margin of cultivation, as such net would be beyond the margin of use of capital.

When the gross profits of the new net are seen to be great, other nets will be made; but the gross profits of each net will be the excess of what could be caught without its use until the wants of the tribe for fish can be entirely supplied by fish caught by nets. After this, as nets increase in number, the margin of their use—the marginal nets—will be determined in another manner, viz: by the necessities of the tribe for fish. Four-year-old nets that catch twenty fish will be for a time the poorest ones that it will be necessary to use. They will be on the margin of use, and wages will have risen to twenty fish, the increase of ten fish being accountable to the increased use of nets. The number of nets may now increase until a net more than three years old will be discarded as not needed. As they are on the margin of use furnishing no profit, their catch of forty fish will be the wages of all those engaged in fishing, and all above forty fish that other nets can catch will be gross profits.

The law of marginal capital may be stated as follows: capital on the margin of use is the least productive capital—the poorest capital that the needs of society forces produc-

tion to make use of. (The margin of cultivation of land is that land the poorest in use to which the needs of society force production.)

The growth of capital as governed or influenced by man's nature may be traced as follows: the great positive deterrent to the accumulation of capital, either as an aid to production or for direct enjoyment, is the shortness and uncertainty of life. To accumulate capital requires labor in excess of that necessary for present needs, and in man's nature there will always be a reluctance to labor when there are uncertainties of enjoying the fruits of it. Although this feeling is modified by a desire to accumulate something for old age, also to provide for family dependents, the great body of humanity is dominated by a stronger impulse to enjoy capital than to replace it.

There are two other reasons why profits are required of capital, the failure to properly judge future wants, and the lack of will-power to enforce judgments.¹ With uncivilized man these are the main causes why large profits are insisted upon; but these causes decrease as man becomes civilized, and will disappear should he become strictly economic. In this may be seen the explanation of the large profits of capital in lower civilizations. The interest rate in old countries is a measure of their progress.

The term "gross profits" requires examination. As it has cost labor to make a net, something must evidently be deducted from the gross profits that will be equivalent at the time the net is discarded to the labor employed in making it; or as business men would say, it must provide a sinking fund to replace itself when worn out. It will be observed that as the margin of use of capital rises, this sinking fund must be a larger proportion of the gross profits; as we have seen, wages have risen and therefore the cost of making has

¹ Read Böhm Bawerk's "*Positive Theory of Capital*," p. 254; Professor Smart's translation for somewhat similar views, and to whom the writer acknowledges obligation.

been increased; at the same time the period of usefulness of the article has been shortened.

If at the end of two years the total profits of a net will exactly pay for the cost of making a new one, the point of the reproduction of capital from its earnings has been reached. If the needs of society force the production of fish no further than those caught with two-year-old nets, profits, or interest on capital in nets, will have disappeared; for wages will have risen to sixty fish, and all above that caught by the nets will but pay for the cost of making new ones. It is conceivable that nets might be so plentiful that those more than a year old could be dispensed with, but we see that the total profits in this case would be much less than the cost of making the nets. Eighty fish would be the wages of labor, the total catch of one-year-old nets, while it would require all the fish above sixty that could be caught for two years to pay for the nets.

The natural limit to the production of capital has now been determined. It is the point of the reproduction of capital from its earnings, as modified by the nature of man in considering the shortness and uncertainties of life, and his poor judgments of his future needs and weak will in executing them.

It will be profitable to make some experimental applications of the principles laid down. If all the profits of capital go to reproducing capital, leaving all wages and all rent to go to other purposes, the volume of capital will quickly grow to the point of the complete reproduction of capital. It cannot go above it, as the waste from discarding capital too soon will send it down again. It cannot stay below it, as the net profits of capital longer used (necessitating lower wages) will quickly raise the volume again. If the volume of capital is stationary all the net profits of capital are being absorbed in consumption. If the volume of capital is growing the net profits, less the net growth, gives the amount absorbed in consumption.

If the net profits of any capital, however small, be constantly turned to the reproduction of more capital, time alone is required to bring all capital to the reproductive point; *i. e.*, such sum of capital will itself absorb the wealth of the world. It is the partial application of this principle that has brought to its present magnitude the great Rothschild fortune and is producing in our own country the billion-dollar trusts.

In a strictly economic society, and after the volume of capital has adjusted itself, every improvement in machinery increases wages through the rise in the margin of use, due to the increased product. We may know this, but we cannot measure its amount and determine its permanency until we ascertain its effects upon the volume of consumption, and how it will affect the numbers of population. If consumption remain the same as before the total increase goes to wages. An increased consumption means a relatively less increase in wages. If consumption increases in the same proportion as increased product (it cannot go above it) wages cannot rise from this factor. If population remains the same the whole increase will go to wages. If population rises relatively with increased product (it cannot go above it) the rise in wages will be proportionately less. The actual change will be a composite resulting from these two effects.

A large part, possibly 90 per cent or more, of present wages was originally the profits of capital, but upon the increase of capital it has gone to wages by the rise in the margin of use. To realize this it is but necessary to imagine what the effect upon labor would be were the results of past labor to be suddenly destroyed.

If this analysis of capital is correct there is no "surplus value," as Karl Marx supposed, and no exploitation of labor in the way the Socialist would have us believe. The analysis reveals, however, a scientific reason for the socializing of capital. The life of the individual is short and uncertain. This justifies him, in any situation in which he may find

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himself, to demand a surplus profit on any capital he may wish to accumulate; for if capital is at the reproductive point, and yields no interest, his income from wages alone would be as much as if he owned a million dollars' worth of capital also. The life of the nation being so nearly perpetual when measured by individual life the nation could, without violating economic law, maintain the volume of capital at the reproductive point. The individual's ignorance of his needs, and his lack of will privately to maintain the requisite supply of capital, would be rectified by the greater knowledge and power of the state. This, however, is but one side of the account. It must be balanced by a public civil service as perfect and economical as private employment and a public honesty equal to private honesty. These two things having been secured the socializing of capital may properly be considered. Public ownership could then accomplish more than private ownership.

The value form of capital is of a more complex nature. Its simplest manifestation is in the exchange of "consumption goods." The normal static value of these is their labor cost of production from land on the margin of cultivation with capital on the margin of use. It being, however, impossible to forejudge the volume of production, because as the result of favorable or unfavorable seasons, the ignorance of what others are doing to supply the demand, or the changes of fashion in consumption, the market price will fluctuate with approximate equality above and below the cost line.

If the world's wheat crop is large in any year the total wheat values for that season may be less than they would have been with a two-thirds crop. To capture these additional values, it is said, whole cargoes of spices have been dumped overboard at sea, the owners, controlling the total output, having bought at prices governed by large supply. Trusts are not a disadvantage to the public because they produce cheaply, but because, by controlling the output,

they can limit production and thereby extort scarcity values. These acts being anti-economic are immoral, and should be made criminal. Since the evils of monopoly arise from the private ownership of natural elements, the simple remedy is the public ownership of those elements, thereby allowing free enterprise and the most abundant production.

The normal static value of "tools of production" when new is the same as that for consumption goods, and in addition to this it must agree with their future earning power, discounted in proportion to their productive qualities during their term of usefulness. When tools cease to be new the cost rule ceases to apply and their earning power governs their value. The value of a locomotive or a mill will be its future earning power, discounted for the waiting; but when they are new this value must also equal their cost of production, otherwise they would not have been made.

Coined money is a tool that on first thought appears to be value capital, but it belongs to the concrete variety. Its value, in the long run, is its labor cost of production at marginal mines by the use of marginal machinery. It is perishable in that it is always liable to be lost in handling and by abrasion. A hammer or a shovel may be employed for a dozen useful purposes, but a coin can perform but two uses, act as a common measure of value or effect exchanges. The value of all other things, being measured by the value of the coin unit, makes the coin appear as value capital, when in fact it is concrete capital. Being used as the tool that facilitates almost innumerable exchanges, the coin and its representatives conveniently assume the minute subdivisions necessary to do the work in the most economical manner. As the tools of railroad construction are accumulated where railroads are being built, so the tools of exchange are accumulated where there is the most use for them, as in the markets of great cities.

This discussion has now reached the point where "interest" may properly be defined. When the net profits of

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capital are spoken of as bearing a certain ratio to the parent capital, computed for a definite time, the ratio is properly expressed decimally as a certain per cent of interest. The term interest always presupposes the comparing of two quantities for a period of time. The value of concrete capital, sinking as its future earning power decreases, makes the interest of value capital approximately the same in the same market. The time element in the profits of capital has a negative side as well as a positive one. The positive side we may express in this way : time is necessary for the profits of capital to show themselves. Negatively, we may say : time, together with wear, destroys all capital.

"Capital" is used here with a more comprehensive meaning than economists generally give it, but the term, nevertheless, has a relatively restricted scope. Capital springs only from labor (man's activities) applied to land (nature's gifts). Furthermore, a thing to exist at some future time only, cannot be said to exist to-day. We recognize this truth in the homely caution, "Don't count your chickens before they're hatched." It is a true axiom that "Like things only can be measured by like."

When a man had the power to take for his own use the surplus earnings of another, he could sell that power and its value was computed in the way we now compute the value of a tool—*i. e.*, the value was the probable future net earning power discounted by the owner to recompense him for waiting for the enjoyment of the product of his slave's labor. The slave might be worth \$2,000 ; or, if he had been taught a trade, \$4,000. A slave-owner shipwrecked and naked on a desert island with ten companions, his slaves, in the same situation as himself, and about to be rescued by a passing ship, might be worth \$40,000 and have all his "capital" according to the old idea, with him. Labor applied to land did not make his slaves, and could not, therefore, be capital according to our ethical conception of the term. The product of the slave's labor must exist before it can be called

capital. Man's power over another cannot be measured in shovels or axes, wheat or dollars. An advance in ethics was made, a great moral idea prevailed; "capital" in slaves was destroyed.

A parent educates his son to follow successfully a very profitable trade or profession. His proficiency is not capital; it is himself. He is a more perfect man than he would otherwise have been or than his early uneducated playmate is. No labor has been spent on land. If he does something that his ignorant mate could do equally well, it is of no more value than if the other had done it. Knowledge cannot be compared with plows or hoes; but only with ignorance. Developing man's latent powers is not producing capital; it is making the man.

A patent is a grant of power, by government, giving a monopoly of the making of an article to presumably the first inventor or his representatives. The plan of the article is not a product of land, but of the inventor's mind. To become capital it must first become embodied in material. The idea may have a value but it is not a thing. The granting of one power by government can only compare with the granting of other powers by government. However wise or unwise the grant of a patent may be, it is only the power to transfer wealth from the slower-minded to a fortunately quicker-minded one. The people might possibly be better served by directly rewarding inventors from the public treasury, and granting no monopoly to any one.

A man of business builds up, by fair dealing and progressive methods, a valuable reputation for his firm. The advantage he derives thereby is not the profits of his capital, but the wages of his labor. It is his pay for the exercise of his moral qualities of honesty and enterprise. Enterprise can be compared only with the lack of it, and honesty with dishonesty.

A railroad furnishes transportation facilities for a certain section of country. With its building goes a natural monopoly of the freight and passenger service of its territory. No

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other road, unless for speculative purposes, will be built if one is sufficient to do the business, for a competitor would only divide the traffic and might reduce the rates. A reduction in rates might be an economic loss to the owners. A division of the traffic might be to the disadvantage both of the owners and the public. The maintenance of two roads where one was sufficient could not be otherwise than an economic loss—both in the building and in the operating. The rates, it will be seen, representing the profits of capital, are not governed by the laws that regulate the profits and volume of capital, but by that of "all the traffic will bear." This may be in extreme instances several times the normal profits on the labor spent in construction and maintenance. This monopoly power, allowing a higher than the normal rate of interest, is the foundation for the issuance of watered stock, so prominent a feature in all private corporations performing public functions through natural monopolies, also of those performing private functions through the private ownership of natural elements.

Is watered stock capital? It springs not from labor but from the power of appropriation. It represents not things in existence but that which may be in existence at some future time. Rights to things can only originate with things, and must by nature lie with him that produces them. Watered stock accordingly cannot be capital.¹

¹ Economics has its basis in ethics. Until man's right to personal liberty was recognized there could be no freedom of contract—the hypothesis which Adam Smith used in his *Wealth of Nations*, and which Ricardo and Malthus further employed in their determination of the Law of Rent and of Population. If we may judge of the future by the past, we may expect the future extension of economic knowledge to be the result of a further and closer determination of the rights of man in and to property. Property rights will become more sacred. The wages of labor will belong, without division, to the laborer, be he superintendent or superintended; whether he exercise his muscles, his mind, or if you please, his morals. The profits of capital will belong, without division, to those who have the right of ownership in capital, whether they be individual, corporation, city, state or nation. Wealth, the product of social growth (economic rent), will belong, without division, to the society whose presence produces it, and those things that are planted in the earth by nature to serve man's wants will belong, by right, equally to all God's children.

It only remains to make application of the foregoing principles to land to answer whether land values should be included in the capital of a country. Land values are the reflex on land of the normal interest rates on value capital. As the uncertainties of life will cause man to require a net profit on concrete capital, or a rate of interest, the same influences will govern the man having the power of appropriating to his own use the economic rent of land. If his capital earns him 10 per cent he will consider the land rent he receives to be the same ratio to the land's value. If he wishes to "sell his land" he will expect to receive ten times the yearly rental. If the interest rate is 5 per cent he will expect to receive twenty times the annual rental. Stating it in another way, we may say the "right" of land ownership being a right to the perpetual rental, its "value" will be the sums of the perpetual rental discounted at the prevailing rate of discount to the present worth at the present time.

Free gifts of nature cannot be a product of labor, nor have they any relation to labor products. They cannot be measured by the units employed in the measurement of capital, because, having different sources and natures, they are entirely different in kind. To assert otherwise is to claim as sensible such queries as, "Which has the greatest cost of production, a cucumber or a sunbeam, a sewing machine or Niagara Falls, a bushel of wheat or a town lot?" If the items of capital must exist before they can be enumerated, how can the products of nature or of labor that will appear upon the earth as long as man inhabits it be claimed and listed as present day capital? They cannot, and land values have no proper place in an enumeration of capital.

¹In Professor Hadley's *Economics*, par. 320, he says: "Economic rent is chiefly due to foresight in investment." But suppose that the institution of private property in land did not exist, there could then be no investment. Would a rich gold or iron mine then be of no more value than a sand bank? Would they yield no economic rent in proportion to their richness or barrenness? Would there be no difference in the productive powers of a fertile valley and a desert plain?

The United States census report of total wealth must be analyzed and the different items segregated before it can be properly understood. If half the eighty billions of wealth represents the value of concrete labor products the balance, or forty billions, simply represents future expectations. These forty billions are the capitalized yearly earnings, from land and franchises, at the prevailing rate of interest. Another country, having the same population and labor products, and with equal natural and franchise advantages, but whose people require double the rate of interest, would list this value at twenty billions. Another country, with the same population and labor products, and with equal natural and franchise advantages, but whose people were satisfied with half the interest rate, would put down this item of their wealth at eighty billions. If a large stock of national capital is desired we have but to forego the natural right to personal freedom, re-establish slavery, have the number of slaves about half the number of people. We might then put our stock of national capital at about double the present inflated figures.

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RECENT TENDENCIES IN STATE ADMINISTRATION.

The utterances of the governors of several of our states within recent years have called the attention of the public to what has become the chief distinguishing characteristic of modern state administration, viz: the tendency to conduct administration by means of an appointed board or commission. Few Americans realize the extent to which this has gone. In a general way it is known that there are a great many commissioners and trustees of various sorts in our states, and that the care of certain public institutions is given over to them. But it is not so well known that many of the most important interests with which the state has to deal are in the hands of such boards. Thus we have Boards of Health and Charities in nearly all of our states. The numerous questions arising out of the modern system of transportation, questions affecting commerce and agriculture, the control of our penal and reformatory institutions, are all made the subject of commission government.

These boards and commissions have arisen in response to a well-defined demand for some agency which would carry us over an experimental period in administration, and can hardly be said to be the final answer to the question how best to care for these various interests. They must be considered as having been created especially to meet the wants of social and economic conditions consequent upon a rapid increase in population and wealth, and as first attempts to solve questions which are not yet fully answered.

Having thus been created to meet the exigencies of the moment, they have often apparently been established with little regard to efficiency or to their proper relation to the administrative machinery which already existed. There has been a consequent multiplication of such boards and commissions until New York has to-day nearly one hundred dif-

ferent bodies of commissioners and boards of trustees, while Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and the other more populous states have a like number, many of which are unnecessary.

These boards fall into three divisions, depending upon the nature of their duties. Certain of them have only power to investigate and report upon their findings; others have semi-judicial powers; and a great deal of the executive power of the state has been placed in the hands of a third class.

It is not questioned here that for the purposes of investigation and recommendation a board may be an efficient organ of administration. Nor is it the intention to criticise boards with semi-judicial powers, in so far as they perform the work of a court. But where the board has only or chiefly, executive and administrative powers, as is the case in many instances, its necessity and usefulness in our state governments may be questioned. The suggestions in this paper go rather to the abuse than to the use of the idea of a board in the government of the state.

The appointment of the boards of the third class has reacted upon the organization of executive power in our states in two ways. It has seemingly increased the governor's power in that to him has generally been given the appointing of the members of the boards; and this has to a certain extent prevented this branch of the governing power from becoming overshadowed by the legislative and judicial branches. While this is true, it has given to the executive but little real power; for though he is able to appoint the members of the boards, he has no voice in the management of the affairs which are entrusted to them. Once appointed they pass from his control and become irresponsible, and their conduct can only be questioned by judicial processes.

The number and complexity of these commissions has become so great that students of politics may well give some attention to their usefulness as governmental agencies. Indeed, such an investigation has been suggested by four

of New York's governors within the last fifteen years, and by two governors of Massachusetts. The suggestion has also been made by writers upon legislation and administration that a reorganization in the field of government covered by such commissions would be in the interests of good government and public economy.¹

Any system of dealing with public interests in order to justify itself before the bar of present-day public opinion, must meet at least three requirements, *i. e.*, those of efficiency, economy and accountability. Systems which cannot meet these may live. But it is either because the people are not aware of their failure, or know of no better way to deal with the matters with which they are entrusted. The people of the states are to a great degree dependent upon the state government for safety and happiness, for liberty, property and general welfare. It touches them at each of these vital points; and it is to their immediate interest that the form of government which the state provides should be of the highest efficiency, and at the same time should be economical and responsible. The more complex these duties become, the greater becomes the necessity that the power which administers them should be restrained by such official responsibility as will keep it always within the control of the people. "The first requisite of efficient administration is power, with responsibility which can readily call it to account."

Present-day methods of administration through a commission are neither economical, efficient nor responsible. On the contrary, from the evidence before us they seem to be most extravagant methods, having a great lack of efficiency and being responsible to no one. Their creation, too, has taken a part of the executive power from where it logically belongs and transferred it to them in a manner which greatly

¹ Governors Hill, Morton, Flower and Odell in New York, and Russell and Greenhalge in Massachusetts, have referred to these matters in recent messages. Fairlie, Whitten, Webster and Goodnow, in published discussions, have also dealt with the subject.

weakens executive power and authority, while it does not inure to the benefit of the people.

A commission, generally speaking, is not as efficient as a single executive officer, for several reasons. In the organization of many of them there are seen to be a number of ex-officio members. These cannot be counted upon for active work, and are a source of weakness rather than of strength. If in addition to this the members live at a distance from each other, and meet only occasionally, they cannot have that grasp of affairs which is necessary to efficient administration. Such a commission is also subject to all the weakness of a deliberative body. In many cases the members are unpaid, and this causes a lack of interest unless they are stimulated by patriotism or some personal interest which may be wanting. The charge is also made that these commissions have on them men who have been appointed for political reasons, the commission being considered a place "of comfortable retirement for once active politicians whose occupation is gone, and whose usefulness to the commonwealth is measured only by their admitted uselessness to political parties or to business circles." It is not here claimed that all these sources of weakness are present in all commissions; but if any of them are, they are in so far rendered incapable of giving that efficient service which the public business ought to receive.

"A board," says Governor D. B. Hill, "consisting of eleven persons (aside from its ex-officio members) scattered in various parts of the state, and which only occasionally meets, is a cumbersome and unwieldy body. It cannot perform its duties as efficiently or satisfactorily as a single responsible head. Its functions cannot be discharged as economically or expeditiously as when in the hands of one controlling executive officer."¹ Governor Hill recommends the abolition of the State Board of Charities and the Commission in Lunacy, and the creation of a single commissioner, who should be vested

¹ Public Papers of D. B. Hill, 1886, p. 38.

with the powers of both boards. He also recommends the abolition of the State Board of Health of ten members, and the substitution of one officer competent to assume the sole general charge of the preservation of the public health. This officer should be as "potential and responsible" in his department, as are the other single departmental heads in theirs.

Another fact should be mentioned in this connection. The members of these boards in many instances have other business to which they must give the greater part of their attention, public service being to them only incidental. From the nature of the case efficient service cannot be expected from such members, if, as is true in many instances, the affairs to be dealt with are of a complex nature. Even such commissioners as those on the Board of Fish, Game and Forestry in New York, in the opinion of Governor Roosevelt should be woodsmen, and have no outside business.¹

The great multiplication of boards and commissions has tended to increase public expenditures very rapidly. This tendency was noted in 1892 by Governor Flower, of New York, in his annual message. The following table of expenses incurred by some of the boards in that state will indicate this with sufficient emphasis:

Name of Board.	When Established.	Cost First Year.	In 1892.
Board of Health	1880	\$11,700	\$28,832
Bureau of Labor	1883	7,090	35,506
Dairy Commission	1884	41,503	91,842
Forest Commission	1884	2,954	58,478
Arbitration	1886	14,552	15,093
Lunacy Commission	1889	16,146	20,895

A great many commissions have been established since this message was written; but the warning which it contains is even more applicable to present conditions than it was to those of the time when it was written. The Governor further

¹ Message, 1900.

said: "Undoubtedly a large part of this legislation was wise and the commissions or bureaus created have accomplished many beneficial results; but some of them, I fear, have failed to justify the expenditure on their behalf, and the tendency in nearly all of them has been toward constantly increasing expenditures."¹

This indication of the tendency to expense has not been overlooked by later governors of the Empire State. Of somewhat sterner nature is the following from the message of Governor Morton in 1895: "A great extravagance arises from the multiplicity of commissions which have increased so rapidly in number and expense since about the year 1880. From an expenditure for the duties covered by these commissions of less than \$4,000 in 1880, we have seen the growth from year to year until the cost of these commissions alone amounted last year to nearly a million and a quarter of dollars."

The fullest treatment which the question of expense in commissions has received at the hands of a public servant is contained in the recent utterance of Governor Odell in January, 1901. Governor Odell calls the attention of the legislature to the fact of the great growth of government by commission, and points out clearly the importance of doing away with many of them which have outgrown their usefulness. His treatment of this question is so masterly a setting forth of the facts as to commission government in New York that I quote at some length from it:

"Legislation," he says, "in recent years has enlarged and in many cases duplicated the work until the many officials with their accompanying salaries, expenses and other incidental outlays have grown to proportions inconsistent with a due regard to the interests of the taxpayers. The Board of Mediation and Arbitration received an appropriation (in 1900) of \$17,800 for salaries and office expenses. The Bureau of Labor Statistics received an appropriation of

¹ Public Papers of R. G. Flower, New York, 1892, p. 20.

\$32,942. The State Factory Inspector's department received an appropriation of \$121,551; making a total appropriation for these three departments of \$172,293. It would seem that by a consolidation of these three departments into one, to be known as the Department of Labor, the work done by each of the present departments could be more efficiently performed and at a very much less expense than is now possible. In my opinion at least \$72,000 would be saved by such a union and the great interests of labor be better conserved." The State Board of Charities is composed of twelve members each of whom receive ten dollars per day for their service. The appropriation during 1900 for this purpose was \$51,620. If these duties were given to a single commissioner appointed by the governor it is estimated that a saving of \$25,000 per year could be effected. A like saving might be effected by doing away with the Prison Commission, in the opinion of Governor Odell, of \$10,000. In discussing the State Forestry Preserve Board and Forestry, Fish and Game Commission he says, "There was appropriated by the last legislature for the salaries and office expenses of the Forestry, Fish and Game Commission the sum of \$82,875. This includes the expenses of printing and publication of reports, salaries of commissioners and employees and other expenses incidental to the maintenance of such a department, but not the maintenance of hatcheries and legal expenses. Aside from the sum of \$250,000 appropriated for the purchase of lands and expenses of the Forest Preserve Board, there were expended for other salaries and office expenses over \$14,000 and paid for additional counsel about \$12,000. The saving of expenses which would undoubtedly follow consolidation would amount to probably \$35,000."¹

The experience of New York in this matter has not been exceptional. The evils complained of there might be dupli-

¹ Message of Governor Odell, New York, 1901.

cated in any one of a half dozen of our more populous states, and in all of them to some degree.

Following these vigorous recommendations of Governor Odell the Forest, Fish and Game Commission, and the Forest Preserve Board were consolidated and put under a single commissioner. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, Board of Mediation and Arbitration and Department of Factory Inspection were likewise consolidated under a single commissioner. The Prison Commission, consisting of eight members, and the Board of Health, consisting of three members, were each reorganized and put under single commissioners. It is too early yet to speak of results, but if the experience of our cities and of commission government generally is any criterion, the outcome cannot but be a happy one for New York.

The experience of Iowa in the matter of control of her public institutions is a case in point. Previous to the establishment of the Board of Control, the public institutions of that state were under the control of separate Boards of Trustees. With the establishment of the Board of Control these were abolished and thirteen institutions passed under a single management. The Board of Control made its first biennial report in 1899, which includes a statement of the expenses of carrying on the institutions for two years, one under the old plan and one under the new. It shows that for the eleven charitable, penal and reformatory institutions there was expended for the year ending June 30, 1898, a total of \$1,148,126.80. For the same institutions the expense of the following year was a total of \$966,492.95, this being \$181,633.85 less than for the previous year. The saving of expense was effected at no sacrifice to efficiency, but the universal verdict in that state is that the service was greatly improved. The board in its report says: "A full appreciation of this reduction in expense cannot be understood without reference to the fact that there has been an advance in the prices of supplies of all kinds during the last year of

from twenty to thirty per cent, as is shown by the commercial reports. Had the prices of two years before prevailed, it is safe to say that there would have been a reduction of \$150,000 more than the above. It is but stating a fact that the board has not in a single instance endeavored to reduce the cost of support of the institutions at the expense of efficiency of service to the inmates."¹

The experience of the State of Washington corroborates the above. In 1897 Washington's public institutions, five in number, passed from the control of separate Boards of Trustees under the care of a single Board of Control. The cost of maintaining these institutions under the old plan of directors for the four years ending in March, 1897, was \$1,021,531, or an average daily cost for all institutions of fifty-two cents per capita. For three and one-half years, under the Board of Control, the cost was \$799,303, or an average per capita cost of forty cents per day.²

What is shown to be true in these states is true of commission government everywhere. The people of the state universally get less service for the money expended, from this form of administration, than from any other. And this is true, irrespective of the integrity and carefulness of the individual members. It is the defects of the system which are here complained of—a system under which the best intentioned officials cannot work efficiently and economically.

The boards are practically irresponsible bodies. They are beyond the control of the people, or of any one who is responsible to the people for their actions. Appointed as they are for definite terms of office, they cannot be removed during that term except after an investigation, which amounts to an impeachment. The governor who appoints them in many cases can only appoint a single member, the terms of the others extending beyond his own, so that he

¹ First Biennial Report, Iowa Board of Control, p. 27.

² Bulletin, Iowa Board of Control, October, 1900, p. 1.

can neither mould the policy of the board nor can he be held responsible for it. "The people of the state might have a most decided opinion about the management and work of the departments and give emphatic expression to that opinion, and yet be unable to control their action. The system gives great power without proper responsibility, and tends to remove the people's government from the people's control. All must agree that the safe and democratic form of government is to make these administrative officers in some way responsible to the people."¹

Massachusetts furnishes us with an instance of the powerlessness of the people to control these commissions. Gross mismanagement was complained of in the prisons of that state. But upon investigation it was ascertained that the prison commissioners could not be reached after their appointment except at the trouble and expense of a judicial investigation, and nothing was done. The Board of Supervisors of Statistics of Massachusetts was organized in 1877, composed of certain ex-officio officers, its duties being to have general supervision over all matters relating to statistics. It was required under the law to meet regularly at the state house at least once a month. But in the course of fifteen years it met but once, and then did nothing. There being no one to whom the board was responsible nothing could be done to arouse it from its apathy.

Hon. Seth Low, who certainly speaks with authority upon this question, says: "State commissions for any other purpose than for inquiry are the most dangerous bodies, because they exercise authority without responsibility. Power without responsibility is always dangerous, but power with responsibility to a constituency, which can readily call it to account is not dangerous. It is the first requisite of efficient administration." The fact that these commissions are thoroughly irresponsible is more readily appreciated when we call to mind that under the law of appointed offices,

¹ Messages of Governor W. R. Russell, 1891, 1892, 1893.

where the appointing power must have the consent of any other body to make the appointment valid, the same power must consent to the removal of the officer so appointed, in the absence of express statutory provision to the contrary.¹ The constitutions of seven of our states provide that the governor may remove for cause any officer appointed by him; but the force of such provisions is largely broken when it is considered that the rule of law in such cases is that where removal is to be had for cause, the power cannot be exercised until after the officer has been duly notified and an opportunity is given him to be heard in his own defence.² This has been recognized in some of the later legislation, and definite provision is often made for the removal by the governor of the officers appointed by him under the acts. But this leaves a large number of commissioners and boards who are out of the reach of anything short of what virtually amounts to an impeachment.

While it is believed that the foregoing is a correct statement as to the present weaknesses of commission government, it should not be concluded that there is not a place for some use of the commission in our administration. In the period when we began their appointment, the questions with which they had to deal were new and untried. Experiments had to be made, information gathered, and suggestions offered. And for these purposes there can be no doubt as to the efficacy of a commission. We are no longer in the tentative stage in a great deal of our state administration, and, it would seem, need no longer adhere to tentative methods. We are able to say with definiteness what we desire with reference to a great many questions about which in the past we have been inquiring and experimenting. Is it not time for us to reorganize our system of administration, and inaugurate a policy which has unity and system coupled with a proper responsibility to the people?

¹ *People vs. Freese*, 76 Cal. 733.

² *Am. & Eng. Ency. Law*, v. 19, p. 562.

It was suggested in the beginning of this paper that this system had taken power which is properly executive and placed it beyond the reach of the executive department of the government. This has resulted in a comparative diminution of the power of that department in comparison with that of the legislative and judicial departments. The condition of affairs in the present is such that the rights of the people can only be guaranteed to them by a restoration of at least a part of this power to the executive. It is manifestly unfeasible to elect all the officers of the state administration. They must be appointed. But if appointed, they must by some means be held accountable for their actions. This might be secured by giving to the governor of the state the power to appoint heads of departments who should be at all times responsible to him and subject to his removal. Under them the various interests which are now taken care of by commissions could be cared for through deputies at less expense and with much gain in efficiency over the present system. Then if the governor were held responsible for the whole of the administration of the state, as he should be, the people would be possessed of an effectual check upon its conduct. This principle is familiar to us in the government of most of our large cities of to-day, and though the wisdom of the system has been questioned by many, it nevertheless seems to present the only feasible plan under our present conditions.

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WESTERN SOUTH AMERICA AND ITS RELATION TO AMERICAN TRADE.

The current discussion of the Isthmian Canal project justifies a careful study of Western South America. Our present commerce with that section is almost insignificant, comprising less than five-tenths per cent of our exports last year, nevertheless, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile include a large section of a continent having natural resources capable of contributing abundantly to the world's commerce. Indeed, forces are now at work whose operation will in time make these resources available. The purpose of this paper is to consider the geography and commercial relations of Western South America with reference to American trade.

Western South America comprises the part of the continent commercially dependent upon the Pacific. The area of a region so defined cannot be a definitely prescribed one, because it must vary with the development of the means of transportation to and from the ports of either coast. The centres of South American population are all near the coasts, and the coasts to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn are separated by natural barriers that will always cause the commerce of both shore regions to depend for transportation upon the oceans toward which they front.

The interior of the South American continent is a vast plain so level that small boats can pass from the Orinoco to the Amazon, and at the season of floods go from the head waters of the Amazon to those of the Plata. This interior level plain is covered by an impassable jungle, through which the rivers are the only highways. Great areas of the country are annually flooded. The conditions not only prohibit settlement, but also debar commercial communication between the coasts except by means of the steamers on the Amazon River, which must wind their way through

three thousand miles of unhealthy and unexplored forests to reach the foothills of the Andes. The Pacific Ocean is, and must remain, the commercial highway for the Pacific Coast plain, the Andean plateau, and probably for a large section of the eastern slope of the Andes.

The ordinary Mercator's projection wall map of the world makes North America seem much larger than South America, and gives the impression that the western part of the South American continent has a small area. The length of the Pacific shore line of South America is 5,000 miles, a distance great enough to reach from the Nicaragua Canal into the Arctic Sea beyond Baffin's Bay. Even the part of it that is to-day engaging in the foreign trade is 3,200 miles long, the distance from Cuba to the latitude of Northern Iceland. The Andean Highlands are in places 500 miles wide. South America lies in two habitable zones, while the commercial part of North America comprises only the best part of one zone, the North Temperate, where the degrees of longitude are shorter than in torrid latitudes. The distance from the Everglades of Florida to the unexplored woods north of Ottawa, Canada, is less than 1,500 miles. South America extends north and south an equal distance in the corresponding South Temperate latitudes, and in addition, more than 2,000 miles across the Torrid Zone.

The area of Western South America is about 750,000 square miles, twice that of the original thirteen states of North America, and more than three-fourths as large as the states to the east of the Mississippi River. The climatic variations run the full gamut. The plateaus lift their mountains in equatorial latitudes beyond the snow line, and the range of humidity is such as to produce tropic morasses, and arid deserts. The variety of production corresponds with the range in climate.

Western South America is separated into six regions possessing distinctly different industrial characteristics. These industrial subdivisions are the Cauca Valley of South-

western Colombia, the Ecuadorean coast plain, the Peruvian coast plain, the mineral desert of Chile, the Chilean agricultural belt and the Andean Plateau. The greater part of Western South America lies within the Torrid Zone, but owing to its elevation, the climate is chiefly that of the Temperate Zone. Only two of the six industrial units of Western South America, the Ecuadorean coast plain and the Cauca Valley have a tropical climate possessing the temperature and humidity of Cuba and Porto Rico, and they are the smallest of all the divisions, containing less than a million people. A third division, the Peruvian coast plain, lying within the Torrid Zone, is by its aridity saved from the malaria of the usual tropic climate.

The total population of Western South America is about 10,000,000, more than twice as large as that of our own Pacific and Rocky Mountain States, but possesses such different characteristics as to preclude comparison on a numerical basis. A large part of the South American population under discussion is native Indian, another large part is mixed Indian and Spanish, and but a small proportion, not exceeding one-fourth, is of the dominant Spanish race. In South America, the white men have not driven out the Indian, who is industrially superior to the North American Indian, and may be compared with our negro. All authorities agree in stating that native South Americans are a peaceable race that can be successfully utilized for industrial purposes. In many plateau sections, these Indians own their homes and the small tracts of land from which they glean their living by crude methods of agriculture. In the tropic plain of Ecuador, the labor conditions are less favorable, and the debt laws are such that in a country where theoretic freedom prevails, the ordinary laborer is held in a condition of financial and industrial servitude by his creditor.

The several industrial divisions of the continent vary widely in their typical exports. The agricultural products

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include, among other articles, the cocoa and rubber of Ecuador, the wheat of Chile, and the sugar, cotton, and skins and hides from Peru. Among the minerals are the unique desert products, nitrate of soda and borax, the coal of Chile, and the copper, tin, silver and gold of the Andes.

Western South America has two broad physical divisions, the Andean region and the Coast plain. The Pacific Coast plain includes four of the most widely contrasted of the industrial regions. Two are within the tropics: the Ecuadorean coast plain, with abundant moisture for tropic agriculture, and the arid Peruvian coast plain, where all animal and vegetable life depends upon the water from the snow fields of the Andes. The dryness of the atmosphere and the absence of fresh-water lakes give this section a more healthful climate than most parts of the tropics possess, and make it suitable for the white races to inhabit. Between this region of irrigation and the agricultural belt that lies in the temperate region of Chile, is a desert, differing from other deserts, however, in that it contains wealth. The rainless climate has caused the accumulation and retention in the soil of large quantities of salts that are elsewhere dissolved and carried to the ocean. The most important part of these minerals is the nitrate of soda, which is found in a continuous deposit paralleling the seashore for 150 miles, and estimated to cover 220,000 acres and contain 228,000,000 long tons—a quantity sufficient to last the world for many decades. The nitrate lies close to the surface under a layer of sand, but the deposits are at the elevation of 3,300 feet, and must be reached by railroads built for the purpose. It is now being exported in large and increasing quantities, and gives rise to a mining industry requiring much capital and employing many men. The crude product is boiled down and chemically treated in large plants requiring expensive machinery.

Water to supply the towns on the rainless nitrate coast is brought to the cities in pipe lines from the Andes, 150 to

200 miles away. Every other article necessary for sustaining the life of man or beast must be brought by sea from some more favored region. The imports come from many countries, but chiefly from the agricultural districts farther south, where the products are similar to those of our Pacific Coast States, with which Chile possesses some points of similarity.

Chile is long and narrow, but her area is large, larger, in fact, than that of France, Germany or the United Kingdom, or the combined area of the New England and Middle Atlantic States with Maryland and the Virginias added. Her length of 2,600 miles would reach from New York to Utah. The country extends from a tropic desert to Terra del Fuego where the latitude and climate are like those of Scotland, or of Alaska.

The temperate shores of the Pacific in North and South America, show a succession of corresponding geographic and climatic features. These resemblances would appear plainly if Chile could be inverted beside the coast of North America. The lower end of the inverted Chile would be opposite the City of Mexico, and Terra del Fuego would be about the latitude of Sitka, Alaska. The 800 miles of Chilean desert, with its nitrates, would lie along the arid coast of Mexico with its silver mines. Patagonia would be opposite British Columbia and Alaska, both regions being damp, fringed with rugged islands, and cut into sharp fjords walled in by forest-clad mountains with snow fields on their summits and glaciers on their sides. The tropical and cold sections can produce little except raw materials, but in the temperate belt of each region, civilization and diversified industry are possible. The climate is that of Western Europe, and the United States.

It is by comparing the productive region of the North Temperate Pacific with the South Temperate Pacific that the greatest geographic resemblances of the two coasts appear; likewise their only difference. This difference is due to the

absence of a South American duplicate for the State of Washington. California and Oregon are reproduced, but the Antarctic current, sweeping up the coast of South America, shortens the temperate section of Chile so much that the region corresponding to the State of Washington is replaced by a longer continuation of the rugged and forest-clad coast similar to that of Alaska and British Columbia.

Near the Mexican boundary of the United States and in latitude 29°, the resemblances to the corresponding agricultural parts of Chile are obvious. In Chile, the arid country by means of irrigation produces grapes, raisins, citrus and other fruits, and alfalfa, the alfalfa being used as supplementary fodder for the cattle pastured on the higher hills. The arid belt extends several hundred miles, and is succeeded on the south by wheat fields and general agriculture. The Chilean forests corresponding to those of Central and Northern California, Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, exist in the lower half of the Chilean agricultural region and along the extensive coast of Patagonia.

The best section of the western slope of both Chile and the United States is found in a great interior valley. The valley of California, bounded on the east by the Sierra Nevada, on the west by the coast range and drained by the Sacramento and the San Joaquin rivers, is widely known because of its fertility. Chile also has a valley similar to this, but larger and superior to it in several particulars. It is enclosed by the Andes on the east and by coast ranges near the shore of the Pacific; but these coast ranges are not so continuous as those of California, being broken at frequent intervals where rivers make their way to the ocean. Instead of being drained by two rivers flowing lengthwise and having one outlet to the sea, the Chilean Valley has several small rivers flowing across it and discharging into the ocean. The basins of these rivers are not separated by high divides, but are practically continuous, so that the whole district is properly spoken of as one great valley.

The Andes are higher than the Sierra Nevadas, and the westerly winds bring a larger amount of moisture than California has. The streams have a larger and more constant flow of water from the mountain snows and furnish an abundant supply for irrigation, and in some places provide good power. The conditions and crops here are essentially Californian, and the population of two and a half millions of people is equal to the entire population of our Pacific Coast States.

The mountain systems of the Andes form the two remaining industrial units. The less important of these is the valley of the Cauca River in Southern Colombia, where the ranges of the mountains separate to come together again farther north. The ranges toward the Pacific are lower than those north of this valley, and the only commercial outlet of the valley lies across them. The valley is as large as New Jersey. Half a million people live there, at an elevation of from 3,000 to 6,000 feet, in a climate that is tropical and sub-tropical. Southward from Colombia the mountains become higher and widen into the Andean plateau which extends through Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia for a distance of 1,500 miles to the Argentine boundary. This plateau, the sixth of the industrial divisions above-named, contains as great an area and population as do all the others combined. It has a cool climate, a fair labor supply, pastoral and mineral resources, and the possibility of taking an important place in the world's trade, from which it is at present almost entirely cut off by the lack of means of communication over the high and steep ranges of the Western Andes.

The foreign trade of Western South America is with Europe and the United States, and amounts to about \$160,000,000 per annum—an average of sixteen dollars per capita, or slightly more than half of our average. Comparisons of per capita foreign trade do not, however, throw much light on industrial conditions. Western South America

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exports only raw materials and imports nearly all of the manufactures used. The United States having a great variety of resources and industries supplies most of her own wants, and her imports consist not only of special manufactures, but also of material needed by American industries. Our foreign trade of thirty dollars per capita represents a small part of our industrial activity, while in Western South America the foreign trade of sixteen dollars per person represents almost the entire commercial activity of a population industrially undeveloped.

The nature of the resources of Western South America is such that the region is likely to continue permanently in the extractive stage of industry, or at least till a period too remote for present consideration. Pacific South America is now but half of an industrial unit, the other half, the manufacturing complement, is in Europe and the United States, and can be reached only by a long and dangerous route. Each one of these industrial half units needs better facilities for marketing its produce in the other. One important service of an isthmian canal will be to unite these separated commercial and industrial complements.

Western South America bears the same relation to the manufacturing centres of Europe and the United States that New Mexico, Colorado and Wyoming, with their raw products, bear to the manufacturing states along the Atlantic Coast. The countries of the North Atlantic need, and are buying, the export products of the west coast of South America—the nitrate and the ores of silver, gold and copper, cotton, sugar, cocoa, coffee, hides, wool, rubber, woods and grain. In return for this export these South American Republics are importing from many countries, but chiefly from the United Kingdom, all kinds of manufactures, from pig iron to watches and silks. By increasing this trade, both parties will be benefited. The production of raw material will be stimulated no less than the production of manufactures. For any gain that comes to South America,

the rest of the world must receive an equal and complementary advantage.

The South American exports are about a third greater than the imports, the export surplus being in part an interest payment to the foreign creditors who have furnished the money for all the leading enterprises in this part of the continent. A small portion of the trade comes and goes by way of the Isthmus of Panama, but the bulk of it passes around Cape Horn or through the Straits of Magellan. European countries control the greater part of the trade, buying nine-tenths of the exports, and furnishing a slightly larger share of the imports. On the surface this is a discouraging showing for the United States, but our small influence there is the result of several causes which may be regarded as temporary, and which will probably have disappeared before the year 1920.

The first cause of Europe's trade superiority is the diligent care European merchants have taken to please their South American customers. Goods have been manufactured, packed, shipped and paid for in accordance with the desires of the purchaser, and this policy has been steadily pursued. Until recently the first concern of the American manufacturer has been the home market, and he has regarded the foreign trade mainly as an avenue for disposing of an undesired surplus. Scant attention has been given to the demands of foreign purchasers, and the American consuls all over the world have constantly repeated the complaint that our goods were not made or packed to suit the requirements of the markets to which they were sent. The past three years have witnessed a remarkable change in our attitude toward the foreign trade. Our exports have suddenly increased until we find ourselves leading the world, and commercial journals in Europe and America seem to be fearful of American supremacy. Accompanying this is the changed attitude of our manufacturers. They have come to realize their ability to export goods to all countries, and

are everywhere enlarging their business and studying the conditions necessary to win the foreign market.

The results of this change are noted by foreign consuls, who are now beginning to report to their governments that the American goods are shipped in the best form and are securing the trade. An example of this is the displacement in Chile of the heavy and expensive English threshing machines by the cheaper and lighter machine of American manufacture. This change of attitude, this focusing of our attention and effort on the export trade will produce great results in the next two decades.

A second cause of the present European superiority in the South American trade is the lower freight rates. For the last forty years the European exporters have been able to get their goods carried to Western South America at rates 15 to 50 per cent lower than those secured by the Americans. American exports are frequently sent to Europe for reshipment to South American ports. Europe imports largely from South American ports, and the outgoing vessels carry European goods very cheaply, and to the detriment of the American exporter. The effect of heavy imports on export rates is well illustrated in the competition of the European countries with each other. German shippers sometimes have an advantage of 25 per cent over the English on rates to Chile, because Germany is the largest importer of Chilean nitrate. British goods are sometimes shipped by way of Hamburg. The British commissioner, appointed to investigate the Chilean trade in 1898, pointed out this disparity of rates as one of the causes of the stationary trade of the United Kingdom with Western South America and of the growing trade of Germany with that section. Europe has better rates to South America than we have and more regular, frequent and rapid connections. We have the short cut across the Isthmus, but the rates charged by the Panama Railroad greatly restrict its use. For many decades our only other direct connection has been by sailing vessels, and in

this age of rapid transactions they are too slow and irregular to be depended upon in commercial competition. In 1899, our exports to the west coast were no more valuable than in 1875, yet the total of our exports to all countries is two and two-fifths times what it was twenty-five years ago. It is less than ten years since the starting of the first of two lines of steamers from New York. They have not caused much growth in our South American trade, neither have they reduced freight rates to the European level, and our consuls and merchants in Chile, Peru and Ecuador are still complaining of the inadequacy of our connections in comparison with those of Europe. The New York steamers have shown their superiority over sailing vessels by securing nearly all the goods carried by the sailers in 1890. They are always full loaded on leaving New York, and the recent addition of more steamers to the lines shows the prosperity of the firms that operate them under charter from their British owners.

South America lies so far to the east of North America that the New York merchant is at a disadvantage as compared with the European shipper in securing the South American trade. The meridian of Washington cuts through western Peru and passes out into the Pacific. The nitrate ports of Chile have the longitude of Boston, and the coast of Brazil is 2,600 miles east of New York. As the vessels from New York to the west coast must round this easterly point, steamers from New York have no advantage over the vessels from the English Channel. The ports of southern Europe are nearer to Brazil than is New York. Prior to 1890 we carried all our commerce to the west coast in sailing vessels, whose course from our Atlantic seaboard must be eastward to the vicinity of the Azores before the ships can get into the trade winds that will carry them past the Brazilian capes. This detour has placed a ten days' handicap upon the greater part of our trade with Western South America. The future will be different. Any European

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advantage of rates, steamer connections or distance may be expected to disappear not long after the opening of a canal across the American isthmus.

By the present route it is farther from New York to Guayaquil than from New York to China. With the new highway in use, the Pacific shore of South America will be as accessible as our own Pacific Coast. If the Panama Canal is built, Guayaquil will be 180 miles nearer to New York than is Liverpool. By the Nicaragua Canal, it will be 1,200 miles farther from New York to San Francisco than from New York to Callao, Peru, and the distance from New York to San Francisco will be only fifty-four miles less than that from New York to Valparaiso, Chile. New York will be farther from the cities of Puget Sound than from any Pacific port of South America. Our Gulf ports of New Orleans and Mobile are 800 miles nearer to the Pacific than is New York, while the canal gives all our ports from 2,000 to 3,000 miles advantage over the commercial centres of Europe when trading through the same waterway.

This great reduction in distance will affect rates and lead to the establishment of direct and adequate steamer connections. Moreover, our export trade will probably be sought for by outgoing European vessels calling at our ports on their way to South America. A steamer from Liverpool to the entrance of either canal can call at New York by adding only 320 miles to her voyage, a day and a third for a ten-knot steamer. At the rate of \$250 per day, that detour would be paid for by a difference of fifty cents per ton on 666 tons of coal, and American coal is cheaper than British. It therefore seems reasonable to expect our export rates to be more favorable than those of Europe. A great growth in our Western South American trade will follow from these advantages of transportation; because no other part of the world has more fundamental reasons than Western South America has for the growth of commercial exchanges with this country. Our South American trade is of a more

complementary character than that of Europe with that continent, or than that of our own trade in any other part of the globe. We export to many countries, but it is only from South America that our imports exceed our exports.

Our factories need the raw materials produced in Western South America, and we will continue to need, in increasing quantities, the nitrates, the ores, the wool and hides, the sugar and cacao and cotton. In return, the producers of these articles require supplies almost identical to those we are now sending to Montana and Colorado, all kinds of dry goods, groceries, and agricultural and mining machinery and supplies. South America is an agricultural and mining frontier, and our resources of iron and wood, and our mechanical skill place us in good position to furnish the appliances needed to develop such resources. The demand for raw materials in this country and for bulky manufactures in Western South America, will furnish cargo both ways for the ships engaged in the trade. Such constant employment for the ship means lower rates both ways, an advantage now possessed by the countries of Europe, but not by the United States.

The basis for the growth of commerce between this country and Western South America, can be shown plainly by an examination of the trade conditions and resources in some of the industrial sections of this part of the continent.

The foreign commerce of Chile now amounts to about \$100,000,000, and is increasing. In 1899, the exports were \$59,000,000, and the imports \$39,000,000; about nine-tenths of the imports came from Europe, while nineteen-twentieths of the exports went to that continent. Our trade is slight compared with that of the United Kingdom, Germany or France. An examination of the elements of the trade of Chile reveals why the United States is particularly interested in it, and why the canal will increase our share.

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Of the Chilean exports, nitrate of soda comprises nearly 60 per cent, although the percentage is slightly declining owing to the increased export of copper and copper ores. Next in the order of importance comes silver and silver ores, then wheat and barley, wool, hides, and other scattering agricultural and mineral products, most of which are needed in the United States. We need the nitrate for our fertilizers and chemical manufactures, we have the coal to smelt the copper and silver ores, we need the wool for our carpet manufactures and the hides to furnish raw materials for our leather manufactures. Of course, the grain products are needed only in Europe.

Of the Chilean imports, cotton manufactures comprise by far the largest part. Then comes machinery of all kinds, kerosene, woolens, coal, bagging and all kinds of miscellaneous manufactures and supplies. The cotton manufactures are made of the raw material that grows in the southern part of the United States, and is carried to Europe for manufacture whence the goods are shipped through the Straits of Magellan. Much of that cotton cloth will in the future go direct from American mills via New York, Charleston, Mobile or New Orleans and save transshipments, and seven thousand miles or more of transportation. We have the materials and manufacturing ability to furnish the Chileans their machinery; we are now furnishing them with kerosene, and, when the canal is opened, we will probably be able to send the coal and many miscellaneous manufactures.

The reduction in freight rates that may be expected to follow the opening of the canal will not only extend the present lines of our trade with Western South America, but will change the character and increase the number of the articles entering into it. With a few exceptions, the goods Chile secures in this country are those which we produce under especially favorable circumstances: lard, lumber, kerosene, breadstuffs, patented articles such as medicines, firearms,

electrical appliances, farming machinery and improved hardware. These articles can be sold more readily in Chile after the canal has been opened. We have just begun to send iron and steel to Chile. The bulk of the pig, bar and hoop iron, and rails and castings now come from Europe, although we can make them more cheaply than our European rivals can. The railroads of Chile have iron rails that must soon be changed for steel which the mills of the United States will be in the best position to supply. We are already sending locomotives and cars. The towns and cities of Chile will use an increasing amount of structural iron for building purposes, and this will naturally come from our country and by the same route as the steel rails and machinery. The growing use of electricity in a country having many mountain streams for water power, will open up a demand for electrical machinery which American manufacturers are already able to supply. We are sending small quantities of many other articles in the cost of which transportation is a large factor, viz: earthenware, glass and glassware, cordage, paper and coal. Our cotton exports to Chile consist mainly of one or two plain staple grades made without reference to the Chilean market, and shipped in bulk as chance opportunities occur. With canal transportation and attention given to the demands of the market, that business can be greatly extended.

Less than half of the tillable surface of Chile is cultivated, but its new territories are being developed. For three-fourths of the agriculture improved plows and farming machinery are used, two-thirds of the supply being furnished by the United States. The other fourth of the work is done with the prehistoric wooden plow; the wheat being threshed by treading it out with horses. The nearness of the country to water transportation makes the introduction of foreign improvements easy and increases the possibilities of foreign trade. With improvements in the means of connection with other countries production will

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increase and the population will grow, and the United States will be in a position to profit by it. Chile has one-third of the population and two-thirds of the commerce of Western South America, her per capita commerce being four times as large as that of the tropical countries of Western South America. She has also more domestic manufactures, and their increase promotes foreign trade.

The northern half of Western South America has lagged behind Chile. Revolutions and civil wars have been frequent, the governments are weak, and, owing to the instability of affairs, capitalists have been frightened away. These conditions will gradually disappear as industry and prosperity increase. The Argentine Republic, Mexico and Chile are examples of Spanish-American peoples who have secured fairly stable political conditions and are improving their industries. Ecuador and Peru are now enjoying a period of quiet and prosperity that has lasted several years, and foreign capital is being invested in moderate quantities. Permanent peace cannot safely be predicted, but as prosperity increases, and more capital comes in, the forces that make for stable political conditions will be stronger. Capitalists have in the past been deterred from utilizing many valuable opportunities. However, the managers of foreign corporations in Peru report that their actual losses are surprisingly small. Political disturbances do not often seriously interfere with the foreign corporations engaged in the extractive industries of agriculture and mining, or in transportation. With the merchant it is different, because purchases are stopped during periods of political disturbance.

Western South America, like all new countries, depends upon foreign capital for its progress. To the use of foreign capital has been due the development of Australia, South Africa, the western commonwealths of this country, and what progress there has been made in South America. Foreigners, mostly Europeans, own the steamers of the Amazon, the railroads of Brazil and Argentine, the nitrate works of

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Chile and the sugar plantations of Peru. Frenchmen own the coffee estates of Brazil, Scotchmen own the flocks of Argentine and Terra del Fuego, and German merchants control the wholesale trade of many South American cities. The foreign capital must be managed by foreigners for the present, at least, and probably for many years to come.

The supply of capital for South America will in the future come from the United States as well as from Europe. We have become large exporters of the iron and steel and machinery needed by new countries. Our increasing wealth and population will furnish money and men for industrial enterprises in foreign lands. American ownership and direction of railroads, mines and other enterprises in Mexico have been chiefly responsible for the industrial revolution in that country during the past twenty years, and for the accompanying expansion of her commerce, the chief part of which has been with the United States. This work is still going steadily forward in Mexico, but we shall welcome the opportunities lying beyond the Isthmus of Panama that will be made accessible to us by the isthmian canal.

The capitalistic development of Western South America, particularly of the northern part, has barely begun. It has great stores of natural wealth, but obstacles in the way of their exploitation have thus far delayed the development of the section. Large organizations of capital are necessary; indeed, successful enterprises in the Andean region must be on a larger and more comprehensive scale than on the level plains of Argentine. In Argentine the European owner cultivates his grain and pastures his flocks on a level plain; but in Peru irrigation is necessary to agriculture. There is, however, no business more surely profitable than agriculture under irrigation, notwithstanding the necessarily heavy outlay of capital. The construction of a railroad across the level pampas, to carry away the wool and grain of Argentine, is a very much easier task than building a line up the defiles of the Andes to tap the mineral wealth of the plateau.

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Operations on the east side can be conducted with moderate capital, but on the west side the large capitalist, the mining expert and the complicated machine are necessary. But the return promises to be all that can be desired. The efficiency of consolidated capital in Western South America has already been shown, as it has produced the greater part of the commodities now exported. Chile exports one and a half million tons of nitrate of soda per year, and it has been mined by firms that own the nitrate fields, the reducing plants, the railroads and the piers from which it is shipped to Europe. The irrigated sugar plantations of Peru are equally complete. Nearly all of the existing and projected plans for development of the resources in this part of the continent include also some system of improved transportation, without which exploitation is impossible.

Among the many opportunities for such large investments of capital, two may be mentioned—mining in the Andes and agriculture by irrigation on the coast of Peru. This coast section has a dry climate, a rich soil, a good supply of water and room for a considerable extension of cultivation. At the time of the Spanish Conquest the population was several times as great as it is at present, and a much larger proportion of the soil was irrigated. Many crops are grown, but sugar and cotton are the chief exports and both come to this country. Sugar cane is cut eight or ten times without replanting, and the annual crop is over 100,000 tons and is increasing. It is claimed that sugar can be produced more cheaply there than in any other country. American machinery and American capital are already in use.

Peruvian cotton is a special product with a brown color and a curly fibre, useful for mixing with wool. It is called "vegetable wool" and has a high value. The cotton plant reaches the size of a small tree, lives for years, produces two crops per annum, the present small output being grown, with practically no cultivation, in the moist soil near the streams. With the establishment of proper irrigation

works the cotton crop, like the sugar crop, will be greatly increased, and another raw material furnished to our factories. Our present imports come via London or Liverpool.

The Andean plateau is the greatest untouched source of wealth in all South America. This section is as long as our Rocky Mountain region from Mexico to Canada, has an equal or greater number of mountain ranges, contains the same general geologic formations, probably has greater mineral resources and has a population between three and four times that of the North American plateau. As the climate of the whole section is temperate the population can be made fairly efficient industrially.

At present nearly all of this plateau region is cut off from the outside world except by such connection as is afforded by the pack-mule traversing Andean trails. Foreign trade consists only of a small export of wool, hides and valuable ores sent out at great cost in return for miscellaneous manufactures. The people raise their own food, often spin their own thread, make their own clothes and live in huts built without nails. Yet this is the region that furnished the greater part of the bullion supply of the world for three hundred years. During this century it has been left behind by the development of more accessible fields. The crude and wasteful mining methods of the old Spanish taskmasters still prevail. The Indian burrows through the veins of silver, tin or copper ore, carrying out the best of it in a rawhide sack, breaking it with a hammer, and sending the richest of it on muleback to the seacoast for shipment to Europe. The mines are unventilated, and when water is struck they must be abandoned, unless they can be baled out by a bucket brigade. The famous mines of Potosi reported to have yielded three billion dollars in silver, are reached only by a bridle path, and in this particular they are like the other great metal producers of the past.

The simplest mining operations require heavy machinery that can be carried only by rail or water transportation.

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With the extension of the Andean railroad lines improved machinery like that used in Colorado and Montana will be introduced. Drowned mines can be pumped out and with hoisting and ventilating machinery worked to five or ten times their present depth. Low grade ores can be handled by the mills and crushers and transported by rail. By the present wasteful methods silver ores worth thirty dollars per ton are thrown away in Peru, when ores one-fourth as rich are profitably worked in the United States. Copper ore under thirty per cent pure is left at the Peruvian and Bolivian mines, while fortunes are being made in this country by smelting ores with three or four per cent copper. The rich heaps of refuse ore left by the Andean miners of the past four centuries, and thousands of abandoned mines can be profitably re-worked by using modern machinery. The mines of Cerro Pasco, Peru, are said to contain enough low grade copper ore to fully employ the railroad that is now planned to develop them. This vicinity and Northern Peru have coal deposits also, but fuel for power plants will generally be scarce on the plateau. Fortunately the mining companies can use electricity generated by water power, of which the melting snows furnish a steady and abundant supply. The streams descend from an altitude of 14,000 feet to the plains below and give opportunity for the installation of widely distributed plants.

The building of these railroads and the establishment of electric and mining plants will be much easier after the isthmian canal has opened a shorter highway to the North Atlantic. It will also give the United States the chance to furnish the machinery and smelt the ores. We are already beginning to get some of the ore which our cheap coal supply enables us to smelt to good advantage.

The improvements in mining methods described above have actually taken place near the two lines of railroad that have reached the edge of the plateau in the region of Lake Titicaca. Large corporations have run mines after the plan

prevailing in our Western States. The plateau needs only the continuation and multiplication of processes that are now in operation in its southwestern corner. One of the two railroads is being extended and the other is surveying for an extension.

The food supply of the plateau is limited to wheat, beans, potatoes and other temperate zone products. Tropic products come from the lower valleys on the eastern slope, and since much of the plateau is treeless there is a large trade in wood as well as food products. All the freight comes up by pack animals, an expensive process that will be replaced by electric railroads when the demand grows to larger proportions because of the industrial development of the plateau. Many of these eastern valleys have rich, fine soil, a subtropical climate and valuable deposits of gold. These districts will be developed from the plateau and will export any surplus by way of the Pacific. This slope already sends over the Andes some coffee, cocoa and hides, and a large share of the world's supply of coco leaves for the manufacture of cocaine.

In the northern part of the Andean region is the Cauca Valley. Its elevation gives it a warm climate, but the section is truly Andean, inasmuch as it is cut off from the ocean by a range of mountains and has to depend upon pack-mule transportation for all of its commerce. The people do a little gold mining, but live chiefly by agriculture, importing nearly all of their merchandise except some domestic manufactures of straw hats, coarse cloths and utensils. The skill of the artisan is attested by their fairly neat homes and wooden bridges with spans as great as eighty feet in length.

All the internal traffic of the valley as well as its foreign trade is carried on over trails so bad that oxen are sometimes preferred to the less sure-footed mule. The load that the American farmer puts on a two-horse wagon is there divided up into packs for twenty-five animals. The exports of agricultural products are limited to the most valuable

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articles, such as coffee and cocoa of the best grades, although corn, sugar, tobacco and fruits are cultivated, and cattle are raised.

Concessions have been given for a railroad to go through the valley from the port of Buenaventura and twenty miles of the line have been built, but the enterprise is now in suspense. The completion of this line and the opening of an isthmian canal will bring the producing districts of the valley thousands of miles nearer to the commercial world. At present, Buenaventura, its port, is in the traffic territory of the Panama railroad and steamship lines. This is declared by commercial writers to be sufficient to stagnate the trade of the Pacific Coast. During the high steamer rates of the year 1900, such typical articles as wire and nails were taken from New York to China for \$8 a ton, but it cost \$15 a ton to land them at Buenaventura, 7,000 miles nearer. From there the costs were \$8 per ton to the end of the railroad, and \$40 per ton additional by pack-mule over the pass of the Andes, 6,000 feet in elevation, to Cali, seventy-seven miles from the ocean. The mule transportation cost seventy cents per ton per mile. After reaching Cali some of the goods had to double the freight charge of \$63 per ton by being carried many miles up and down the valley. At the same time the steel manufacturers of Pittsburg were paying an unusually high freight charge of \$3.60 per ton to the seaboard.

The opening of the isthmian canal, the building of the railroad, and the introduction of foreign capital will be revolutionary in their effect upon the trade of the Cauca Valley. The first effect of the building of the railroad will be the importation of machinery for agriculture and the smaller industries, and the valley will export coffee, cacao, animal products and raw sugar.

Western South America is an undeveloped agricultural and mining region offering an opening for American capital and promising by its industrial growth to increase the pro-

portion of its trade with the United States. An isthmian canal will furnish the avenue for marketing the products and supplying the machinery needed to utilize the resources of large territories that now carry on their internal commerce in a fashion more primitive than prevailed in our Great West in the period when the prairie schooner was the only land transportation agent west of the Missouri River. Western South America is certain to need a great variety of the manufactures we can produce to advantage, and no other division of the world will furnish us more of the raw materials needed by our industries.

J. RUSSELL SMITH.

Washington, D. C.

COMMUNICATIONS.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF FORMING AND ADMITTING NEW STATES INTO THE UNION.

Our system of carving new states out of the public domain and incorporating them into the union is one of the contributions to political science which the American people have worked out for themselves. In the beginning of our independent existence Congress gave no consideration to the question of the formation or admission of new states west of the Alleghany Mountains, at least there is no recorded evidence of it. The Articles of Confederation ignored the possibility of their existence. Even Franklin, who previously had given considerable thought to western governments, considered in his draught of the Articles the possibility of admitting to the union certain then existing British colonies only.¹ The idea of forming new colonies in the west, subject to the British crown, was not a new one, and indeed attempts were soon made actually to establish new governments in that region;² but these attempts were unsuccessful, and through the Revolution the west remained *de facto* with the claimant states.

As the Revolutionary war progressed the idea gained ground that the western lands might be made to pay the war debt. In June, 1778, the Rhode Island delegates in Congress wished to have the Articles of Confederation amended so as to secure to Congress the crown lands, "reserving to the states within whose limits such crown lands may be the entire and complete jurisdiction thereof."³ New Jersey also objected to the Articles on this ground.⁴ Alexander Hamilton, in September, 1780, suggested that Congress be invested with the whole or a part of the western lands for revenue purposes, "reserving the jurisdiction to the states by whom they are granted."⁵ Other expressions of the same kind⁶ might be cited, but this is sufficient to show that, with the exception to be noted below, the small states

¹ Franklin's *Works* (Bigelow), v, 553.

² See Turner's *Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era in American Historical Review*, I, Nos. 1 and 2; also, the writer's *New Governments West of the Alleghanies before 1780—Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin. Economics, Political Science, and History series*, II, No. 1.

³ *Journals of Commerce*, IV, 370.

⁴ *Journals*, IV, 377.

⁵ Letter to James Duane, quoted by Adams, *Maryland's Influence*, p. 34.

⁶ See *American Archives*, fifth series, III, 1020.

without claims to western lands themselves were distinctly admitting that states having such claims should retain at least the jurisdiction over them. We see also that so pronounced a nationalist as Alexander Hamilton held, at this time, that the old states should have individual jurisdiction over the west.

The most persistent declarations in favor of Congress using the back lands to defray the expenses of the war came from Maryland. Virginia claimed a vast extent of the western country for herself, and if she should retain it the Marylanders felt that it would be a serious menace in various ways to their prosperity.¹ In apprehension of the growing power of her already powerful neighbor, Maryland, through her delegates in Congress, moved October, 1777 that Congress have the right to fix the western boundary of states claiming "to the Mississippi or South Sea."² Maryland alone was in favor of this. Nevertheless the Virginia delegates were alarmed: the Articles of Confederation had not yet been sent to the states for ratification, and they secured the insertion of a clause providing that "no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States."

It was just this western land question which caused the long delay in putting the Articles of Confederation into effect. The other states ratified them with little difficulty, but Maryland positively refused to do so till that question should be settled to her satisfaction. It was not till the demands of Maryland were backed by a growing public opinion and the request of Congress³ that the determined opposition of Virginia gave way, and she offered to the United States both soil and jurisdiction of the territory northwest of the Ohio river.⁴ It was more than three years afterwards that the cession was finally accepted,⁵ but Maryland was satisfied that she had gained her point. Her delegates were instructed to sign the Articles of Confederation,⁶ which were then put in force.

About the time of the large cession of Virginia came the smaller though important ones of New York,⁷ Massachusetts and Connecticut, and Congress was confronted with the necessity of adopting some system of organization and government for the western country. It was indeed decided that it should be cut into separate and independent states. That had been a part of Maryland's contention

¹ See Maryland's Subsequent Declaration, *Journals*, v, 210.

² *Journals*, lii, 435.

³ September 6, 1780, *Journals*, vi, 180.

⁴ By act of Assembly passed January 2, 1781, *Hening's Statutes*, x, 564.

⁵ *Journals*, ix, 67.

⁶ Act of Maryland Assembly, laid before Congress February 12, 1781, *Journals*, vii, 32.

⁷ *Journals*, vii, 45.

in the beginning,¹ when elsewhere the apparently universal cry was that the old states should retain at least the jurisdiction over the west. It seems to have been regarded as a rather secondary matter. Maryland desired that Virginia be deprived of both soil and jurisdiction; so, as a natural corollary, she proposed the formation of new states. When asking for cessions Congress² promised such formations, probably in order to quiet any fears some may have had that a more objectionable use would be made of the land. Moreover, Virginia had made it a condition of her cessions. That much then was settled. It remained for Congress to provide the system by which it should be brought about.

The first action taken by Congress having any reference to new states was in the resolve of October 10, 1780, already noted. Congress then guaranteed that land which any state might cede to the United States would "be settled and formed into separate republican states, which shall become members of the federal union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other states; that each state which shall be so formed shall contain a suitable extent of territory, not less than 100 nor more than 150 miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit."³ This would mean about twenty-five new states east of the Mississippi, providing each were 150 miles square. With 100 miles square to each state nearly sixty new states could have been expected east of the Mississippi, or over 300 in the present United States, exclusive of Alaska and insular possessions. Until the passage of the Ordinance of 1784 Congress took no further action regarding new states, although an attempt was made in May, 1782, to limit the size of new states to a maximum of 130 miles square.⁴

Meanwhile propositions and attempts at the formation of definite states were being made. As already indicated, the idea of new western governments was by no means new.

Probably the earliest expressions of the idea of forming trans-Alleghany governments by the united action of the old ones were in the plans for the union of the colonies, proposed in the Albany Convention in 1754.⁵ The President-General and Grand Council, representing the union, were to make new settlements in the west, and also to

¹ See Declaration of Maryland's First Constitutional Convention, *American Archives*, fifth series, iii, 178, cf. *Journals*, iii, 436, v, 210; also, Henning's *Statutes*, x, 549-556.

² *Journals*, vi, 213.

³ *Journals*, vi, 213.

⁴ *Journals*, vii, 362.

⁵ Plan for union of the Northern Colonies, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, first series, vii, 203. Franklin's plan in his *Works* (Bigelow), ii, 355.

"make necessary rules and orders for the well regulating and managing such new settlements till the Crown shall see fit to form them into particular government or governments." Franklin, in his comments on this scheme, thought distinct governments might be formed when the new colonies "become sufficiently populous."¹ The plans as we have them say nothing about their admission into the union in due time, but probably that was expected. We find then in embryo the present system of organizing and conducting new territorial governments by a union as far back as the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Transylvanians, in 1775, elected a delegate to the Continental Congress. He went to Philadelphia with the petition from his constituents "that Transylvania may be added to the number of the United Colonies," and met with some encouragement. The settlers in western Pennsylvania tried to organize as a separate government, and get recognition by Congress as a separate state, but there is no evidence that Congress even considered their request.² The people of Franklin made greater progress in organizing their state government, but were also ignored by Congress.

These three inchoate states illustrate the fact that it was the accepted idea on the frontier at least that new governments should be formed in the west. They show the tendency of the early western settlers toward independent local government and the formation of new states for themselves. Perhaps the best illustration of this is in the case of Vermont, then practically a frontier state, successfully maintaining herself against the opposition of the claimant states. The pioneers of those days had not sufficient loyalty to the states claiming their allegiance to prevent their attempting to create new commonwealths in the territory of their mother states. Congressional action in this direction came too slowly for them. With the scission of the lands and the formation of liberal state governments by Congress it could be expected that the new organizations would receive the unqualified support of the impatient settlers.

Probably the first plan looking to the formation of a definite state by congressional initiative was that of Silas Deane. It was in a letter to the secret committee of Congress in December, 1776, proposing that the western land be made to pay the expenses of the war and that a settlement be made at the mouth of the Ohio to enhance its value. He thought a tract of two hundred miles square, between the Ohio and Mississippi should be given to a company of Americans and Euro-

¹ Franklin's *Works* (Bigelow), II, 369.

² For a full discussion of Transylvania and Westsylvania, see the writer's *New Governments West of the Alleghenies*, chaps. IV and V.

peans who should engage to establish a "civil government regulated and supported on the most free and liberal principles, taking therein the advice of the honorable Congress of the United States of America." After reaching the size of one thousand families the new state should be taxed for "the publick expenses of the Continent or United States," and should then "be entitled to a voice in Congress."¹ It can be seen at once that this scheme foreshadowed territorial government by Congress, and admission to the union upon the condition of a certain number of inhabitants. One thousand families in a new country would mean a total population of not over five thousand—a rather small number for statehood.

Thomas Paine's plan² came out in 1780. He proposed that a new state be formed in about the region of the proposed Vandalia colony, or modern West Virginia. In this connection he made some significant and interesting suggestions concerning the establishment of new state governments as follows :

"The setting off the boundary of any new state will naturally be the first step, and as it must be supposed not to be peopled at the time it is laid off, a constitution must be formed by the United States as the rule of government in any new state for a certain term of years (perhaps ten) or until the state becomes peopled to a certain number of inhabitants ; after which the whole and sole right of modelling their government to rest with themselves. A question may arise whether a new state should immediately possess an equal right with the present ones in all cases which may come before Congress. This experience will best determine ; but at first view of the matter it appears thus : that it ought to be immediately incorporated into the union on the ground of a family right, such a state standing in the line of a younger child of the same stock ; but as new emigrants will have something to learn when they first come to America, and a new state requiring aid rather than capable of giving it, it might be most convenient to admit its immediate representation into Congress, there to sit, hear, and debate on all questions and matters, but not to vote on any till after the expiration of seven years."

Is not this a clear indication of the later territorial government and the territorial delegate to Congress, showing the territory as a recognized part of the United States, admitted regularly into the Union in time ?

Three years later came what may be called the army plan,³ brought forward by General Rufus Putnam and other leading officers. They

¹ *American Archives*, fifth series, iii, 1021.

² Paine's *Public Good*, p. 31.

³ Cutler's *Life of Cutler*, i, 156-9, cf. Pickering's *Life of Pickering*, i, 457.

proposed that a new state be established in the region which is now Ohio, and the land given out to the officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army, the United States government giving them also full farming equipments, transportation, and entire support for three years. It was expected that this would be a military state protecting the country against the northwestern Indians. Before setting out for their new homes the settlers, or "associators" as they were called, were to have a meeting to form a constitution for the new state, and at this meeting "delegates" were to "be chosen to represent them in the Congress of the United States, to take their seats as soon as the new state shall be erected." The thirteenth article of the plan provides "That the state so constituted shall be admitted into the confederacy of the United States and entitled to all the benefits of the union in common with the other members thereof."

How much progress was made with the army plan we do not know. It was intended to get the opinion of officers and soldiers concerning it and then apply to Congress for the grant.¹ It seems likely that it was merged into the officers' petition,² which was a somewhat different scheme. The latter was dated June 16, 1783, and signed by 285 officers of the Continental line. Most of them were northern men, the majority being from Massachusetts. They asked for nearly the same land that the army plan contemplated, saying that "this country is of sufficient extent, the land of such quality, and situation such as may induce Congress to assign and mark it out as a Tract or Territory suitable to form a distinct government (or colony of the United States) in time to be admitted one of the Confederate States of America." The tone of this petition is decidedly more modest than that of the army plan. Notice the dependent, even "colonial" relation proposed before admission to statehood.

These schemes were of course suggestive. While there was no more immediate outcome than the formation of the Ohio Land Company,³ still it was probably because of the attention the question of new states was receiving that Mr. Bland, about the same time, brought the question before Congress. His motion not only provided for the soldiers, giving each one thirty acres for each dollar of arrearages due, but also proposed that the western country be laid off into districts not larger than two degrees in latitude. Any district was to be admit-

¹ Pickering to Hodgdon, *Pickering's Life of Pickering*, i, 457.

² The petition in full is found in Bancroft's *History of the Constitution of the United States*, i, 314; in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, i, 38, and Cutler's *Life of Cutler*, i, 159, cf. I. W. Andrews in *Magazine of American History*, August, 1886, p. 136.

³ Report of House Committee, quoted in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, i, 38.

ted into the union as a state, and on an equality with the original states, as soon as it reached a population of 20,000 male inhabitants. One-tenth of the land was to be reserved to the United States, the returns from which land to be appropriated to the payment of the United States civil list, erecting frontier forts and seminaries of learning, building and equipping a navy, "and to no other use or purpose whatever." If this scheme had been applied to the territory north of the Ohio river there would have been eight or ten states in that region. Requiring 20,000 resident males before admitting to statehood means a requirement of something less than a total population of 40,000, as the number of males is generally greater than that of the females in any new state. The Bland motion was referred to a committee, and seems to have gone no further.

The various propositions thus far seem to have been without definite outcome in the individual cases, but certainly they must have had some bearing on the system which was being gradually worked out, reacting perhaps on the public opinion whose trend they exhibit. Thus far the only congressional action concerning new states was in the resolve of October 10, 1780, promising that such states would be formed from ceded territory, of a size not over 150 nor less than 100 miles square, and admitted into the union with "the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other states." Congress concluded that the time had come to take some definite steps toward fulfilling this promise and so it was decided, October 15, 1783, to appoint a committee to draw up a plan of organization and government.¹ It was evidently this committee that reported the scheme which became the ordinance of 1784.

As a landmark in the history of state making the ordinance of 1784 deserves consideration second only to the ordinance of 1787. The scheme adopted in it has been called Jefferson's plan because he was chairman of the committee, the other members being Howell, of Rhode Island, and Chase, of Maryland. A great part of the territory west of the Alleghanies still remained uncaded to Congress, but it was taken for granted that the states would give up their claims, and the whole region as far as the Mississippi was cut up into proposed new states. The odd parallels of latitude formed their northern and southern boundaries, while a meridian passing through the "lowest point of the rapids of the Ohio" divided the west into two tiers of states. Another through the "western cape of the mouth of the Great Kenawha" cut off the tier of the old states. It was intended that the smaller states of the central tier should hold the balance between those lying on the seaboard and those along the Mississippi—

¹ *Journals*, viii, 442.

at least that is the explanation given by Mr. Howell,¹ member of the committee. He explained, too, that while Virginia and North Carolina were cut off on their western sides by the Kenawha meridian, South Carolina and Georgia were to extend to that of the falls of the Ohio, "as their Atlantic coast falls off west." Jefferson's plan provided for fourteen new states. He gave rather strange names (*e. g.*, Cheronesus, Assenisipia) to ten of them, and it was thought that these ten would be organized first.²

Each of these districts was to hold its own convention, Congress appointing time and place, and adopt the constitution of some one of the old states, subject to alteration afterwards by the regular legislature. Between this time and the admission of the state a delegate might be kept in Congress with the right of debating, but not of voting. When any district attained a population of 20,000 free inhabitants a convention might be held, Congress appointing time and place as before, "to establish a permanent constitution and government;"³ but admission "by its delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original states" should not be granted any state till it "shall have of free inhabitants as many as shall then be in any one of the least numerous of the thirteen original states."⁴ There was some discussion in Congress on the question of what vote to require for admission of a state. The first report provided that the consent of nine states should be necessary, but it was amended to read, "Provided the consent of so many states in Congress is first obtained as may at the time be competent to such admission."

So Jefferson's plan as embodied in the ordinance of 1784 finally passed Congress,⁵ and was a law of the land for three years. The settlers in the trans-Alleghany regions of North Carolina were encouraged by it to organize the government of Franklin, conceiving that with the territorial cession of that state the time had come for some of the state making contemplated. But when North Carolina repealed her act of cession Congress could give no encouragement to the Franklin movement and it was soon crushed out by the mother state. The ordinance of 1784 was as short lived as the state which it seemed to

¹ David Howell to Jonathan Arnold, Staples' *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*, 479.

² *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 30, 1783, cf. Barrett, *Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787*, p. 20, cf. McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, I, 165, who speaks of seventeen states, with eight of them named.

³ Merriam (*Legislative History of the Ordinance of 1787*, p. 12) says that 20,000 was the requisite number for admission, as does also McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, iii. 93.

⁴ About this time Delaware was thought to have a population of 37,000. Dexter's *Estimates of Population in the American Colonies*, p. 19.

⁵ The ordinance in full is found in *Journals* ix, 153.

call into existence, and in 1787 it was superseded by the far more famous ordinance of that year.

A desire for fewer new states seems to have been the main reason for setting aside the law of 1784. Soon after its passage Jefferson left Congress and Monroe became the leading figure in the movement to organize the west. He visited the western country and came to the conclusion that in the future there would be a diversity of interests between the east and west, making it desirable from the eastern point of view that the west should not get too much political power.¹ He thought, moreover, that much of the territory was so "miserably poor" that some of the districts would "perhaps never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy." He succeeded in getting the matter referred to a committee which made reports favoring the division of the territory northwest of the Ohio into not less than two nor more than five states. At one time William Grayson, of Virginia, moved a definite division of the territory into five states, but this was defeated by the opposition of the northern members. It was expected that the northwest would be settled from the south and have agricultural interests like the south.² It was considered that the political interests of the new country required many and small states; therefore the south, on the whole, supported that plan. Jefferson seemed much disappointed that his scheme of many small states had been set aside, and remonstrated vigorously in long letters from Paris to Monroe and Madison,³ fearing that this, together with the disposition to close the Mississippi, would produce "the severance of the eastern and western parts of our confederacy." However, three states, with a possibility of five, was the decision for the northwest, as made in the ordinance of 1787.

A committee appointed to report a form of temporary government, Monroe being chairman, proposed two stages of territorial government with chief officers appointed by Congress and a congressional delegate with half powers. This was adopted. The second stage was authorized in any district on acquiring "five thousand free male inhabitants of full age." The idea of the territorial delegate we have seen in most of the plans described above, beginning with that of Thomas Paine.

The question of the population requisite for admission to the union met with more discussion. The committee, under southern influence, proposed to retain that part of Jefferson's plan, *i. e.*, to require a popu-

¹ Monroe to Jefferson, Bancroft's *History of the Formation of the Constitution*, 1, 480.

² Notice Madison's opinion, *Elliot's Debates*, iii, 313.

³ Jefferson's *Writings* (Ford), iv, 333.

lation as large as the least numerous of the original thirteen states.¹ After some southerners on this committee had been replaced by northerners, a report was made raising the admission requirement to a population equal to one-thirteenth part of the citizens of the original states (to be computed from the last enumeration), besides the consent of Congress. But before considering the admission requirements laid down in the ordinance of 1787, let us review some of the propositions previously made on this point.

Silas Deane in December, 1776, suggested an admission requirement of something less than five thousand inhabitants.

Thomas Paine (1780) proposed admission in seven years after territorial organization, leaving open the question of numbers.

By the army plan (April, 1783) the new state was to come in at one jump under no condition of time or of numbers.

Mr. Bland's motion (June 5, 1783) proposed something less than a total population of forty thousand.

The officers' petition (June 16, 1783) was indefinite, merely proposing admission "in time."

Jefferson, at the head of a congressional committee, proposed (March, 1784) admission of a new state when its population became equal to that of the least numerous of the original ones, and with the consent of nine.

The ordinance of 1784 (adopted April 23) merely changed the nine states requirement to consent of so many "as may at the time be competent."

A committee under northern influence reported (September 19, 1786) that a population equal to one-thirteenth that of the original states be required, besides the consent of Congress.

And now we come to the final decision. The ordinance of 1787, referring to the new states proposed in the northwest, declares as follows:

"Whenever any of the said states shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such state shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and state government: Provided the constitution so to be formed shall be republican and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in any state than sixty thousand."²

¹ Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, vii, 537.

² The ordinance in full is in *Journals*, xii, 85.

It would be interesting to follow the development of this system of forming and admitting new states in some of its later details, but with the adoption of the ordinance of 1787 and its ratification by Congress under the Constitution the outlines of the system were definitely established. The enabling act, a somewhat uniform set of conditions for admission, and other interesting outgrowths could be easily traced, but the purpose of this paper has been sufficiently accomplished perhaps without it, by showing the rise and development of the idea of new state organization, and a relation between the new governments and that of the United States culminating in admission to the Union as provided by the ordinance of 1787.

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THE COLUMBUS ATTEMPT TO SECURE THREE-CENT FARES.

The year has witnessed at least three notable evidences of a growing interest in the proper relation of the people to their street railways. One has been the widespread interest in the scandalous treatment of the question by the State of Pennsylvania and by its largest city. Another incident of note has been the able report of the Chicago Street Railway Commission, and a third has been the occurrences at Columbus, Ohio. Of the last, only, is it proposed here to write. For months the capital of the state was stirred to its depths by the agitation on the subject. The papers throughout the state often discussed it. The issues raised led to a political overturn in the city, and undoubtedly increased the majority cast for the present mayor of Cleveland at the same spring elections. As the situation contains lessons for the whole country and has never been fully presented outside of Ohio, a brief account may be here given.

The Columbus Railway Company came before the city council of that city in January, 1901, to secure an extension of its franchises for twenty-five years. The company possessed franchises on many streets, which were to expire at various periods during the next few years, and it claimed perpetual rights on other streets—and those the most important and profitable—although there was a serious doubt whether the latter franchises were valid. The company was not willing to concede its claims regarding the grants that were without time limit, but proposed, in the sought-for franchises, to secure rights on all the streets for twenty-five years, which would be binding even if the courts should declare that the so-called perpetual franchises are invalid. In return for all this, the company was at first willing to concede but little. Cash fares were to continue at five cents, but with larger privileges of transfer: the previous rates, six tickets for twenty-five

cents and twenty-five tickets for \$1.00, were finally, in response to a vigorous demand from the people, changed to seven tickets for twenty-five cents in the proposed ordinance. The average rate of fare in 1900 was 4.54 cents.

Before this concession was secured, Honorable Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, who had not at this time entered the race for the mayoralty of his city, visited Columbus at the request of a body of citizens, and addressed both them and the city council, opposing a new franchise for twenty-five years on such terms. When pressed to make as good an offer himself as he claimed the company could do, he made the city a remarkable proposition. He agreed upon the following: "(1) Three-cent fares with universal transfers. (2) A limit of profits to the owners of the road of six per cent upon actual cost. (3) That any earnings from the three-cent fare in excess of operating expenses and six per cent upon cost of construction must be applied toward retiring the capital and thus reducing the interest charge. (4) An option to the city to acquire the property at any time and to operate the road, paying therefor only the actual net cost at that time. (5) A reserved right to the city to reduce fares below three cents as fast as earnings would warrant, after paying six per cent on cost of construction; the six per cent in all cases to be figured only upon the cost of the property not yet retired." Thus whenever the cost of the road should have been returned to the owners, the city would have the option either to take the road for nothing or require the company to operate it at a rate of fare which would cover operating expenses only. Mr. Johnson claimed this would be less than two cents per passenger.

He proposed, as he explained at the mass meeting, that the council should assume that the franchises are invalid and have already expired on all the streets wherein there is at least a plausible reason for that contention. The city government should then order the old company off from those streets and give him a franchise on the basis of a straight three cent fare, higher wages, shorter hours, compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, as good service as at present or even better, etc. The ordinance would also provide that he should have similar rights on the other streets for a period not to exceed twenty-five years from now. He would endeavor to secure possession by purchase at a valuation to be determined by arbitration. The next step would be for either Mr. Johnson or the city government to begin the tearing up of the rails on some street where it was plain that the franchise had run out. Of course it would not be intended to proceed further than to provoke the company to issue an injunction, and it might easily be arranged for this to be done before a single rail had been removed. Then the matter would be referred to the courts, the

operation of the railway would go on as now, and Mr. Johnson would bear the expense of maintaining his rights under the ordinance.

He says that he thinks final decision could be reached within two years, and attorneys of good standing scout the idea that it would take any such long period of five to ten years as is claimed by friends of the company. This experienced street railway magnate holds that, if the proposed new company won a victory in the courts with regard to possession of the streets upon which the rights of the old company are most doubtful, and which happen to be by far the best paying lines, the latter would soon be willing to sell out all its tangible property, and then to sell existing franchises at such a fair valuation as might be fixed by the board of arbitrators. Further, Mr. Johnson declared on his honor as a gentleman that he stood ready to put up any bond that the council might order for the full performance of the above and other terms of the ordinance that he presented. These terms included, as just observed, not only full guarantee of better treatment of employees than now, but also complete publicity of accounts and the ultimate turning over to the city, through sinking fund payments in either low fares or otherwise of all the profits of the enterprise after the retirement of the capital, which would never be allowed to have a return of over six per cent.

Mr. Johnson's ordinance, it was shown at the time, could be improved in certain minor particulars, especially with reference to the control by the city government of the number and heating of cars and other matters relating to the comfort and convenience of the traveling public, and he expressed himself as ready to incorporate such improvements. In all respects, however, his proposed ordinance was far superior to that of the existing company.

The friends of the Street Railway Company at once raised three objections to these very attractive propositions, as follows:

1. Mr. Johnson probably was ambitious to be the United States Senator from Ohio, and his proposition was for political effect. The reply that seemed to be conclusive was that while, in view of the past history of Senatorial contests in the Buckeye State it might be evidence of criminal intent or of bad character to run for the United States Senate, yet this was no particular concern of the people of Columbus, provided Mr. Johnson were willing, as he claimed, to furnish any bond that the city might require as evidence of his good faith. No one doubted his extensive and successful street railway experience and possession of sufficient capital to carry out his proposition.

2. It was again objected that he would inevitably lose money and throw up his contract, and at the same time hypnotize the city council into relieving him of any forfeit. This was too serious an indictment

of their own capacity for self-government to have much weight among the people of Columbus. With regard to the possibility of making money on three-cent fares, it was truly said that the street railway traffic in Columbus had grown 72 per cent in ten years, without any material reduction in fares, and would almost certainly grow at least 50 per cent in the next five years with a reduction of one-third in fares and the removal of the necessity of bothering with tickets. Such an increase of 50 per cent in traffic occurred in Toronto in the six years, 1893-99, without any change of fares, and with a cost of operation and taxes per passenger, for the 10,611,930 new passengers, of only \$112,728 per year, or 1.06 cents per passenger. This brought down the average cost for the entire number carried in this Canadian city from 2.53 cents in 1893 to almost exactly two cents in 1899. The operating expenses and taxes in 1899, in Columbus, were only 2.4 cents per passenger, with seven more miles of track than in Toronto, and with two-thirds as many passengers per year. Such increase of traffic as would come from a large reduction of fares would be in the short rides which are the most profitable to the company and in the more extensive use of all of the track, and would not call for increase of capital expenditure, save to a moderate extent in equipment. There is every reason, therefore, to believe that such a company, carrying 20,000,000 passengers for 2.4 cents per passenger, could carry another 10,000,000 for one cent per passenger. This would bring the average below two cents. Because of its level area and comparatively little snow and only moderate wages, the Columbus street railways can be operated at much less expense per passenger than in the smaller Eastern cities.

3. A third objection raised against Mr. Johnson's proposition, and the one that influenced many, was the enormous depreciation in the stocks and even the bonds of the present company that would result if it were not given a new franchise upon practically its own terms. The most careful investigation that the writer could make, aided by some excellent expert engineering assistance, showed that the road could be duplicated to-day for about \$25,000 a mile, or \$2,500,000. This low figure need not surprise any who are familiar with the official inventories of the Massachusetts companies. The admirable plant at Springfield, Mass., for example, whose output, cars, power plant, etc., seem to be superior, per mile of single track to those at Columbus, has been valued by the highest authority, the expert of the Massachusetts Railroad Commission, at about \$33,000 per mile, and has capital stock and funded and other indebtedness of only \$30,000 a mile. On the other hand, the Columbus road is stocked and bonded for \$115,000 per mile. The way this arose is one of the most interesting and instructive chapters in stock watering. The road, in its present shape, was

practically organized in 1892 by the purchase for \$2,250,000 of the only road of any importance then existing in the city. The old road had cost scarcely one-half what was paid for it. The other half was payment for franchise, but bonds were issued to cover the entire amount of purchase, and on top of that, \$3,000,000 of stock was issued, partly as a bonus for the buyers of the bonds, or for the syndicate that floated them, and partly for the promoters. Thus the road started, not only with all its stock watered, but with half its bonds of the same character. The defence for this financiering was twofold: First, it was necessary to issue this stock in order to float the bonds, and it was necessary to float the amount of bonds actually issued in order to buy the road, but of course it was not necessary to buy the road, and hence the issue of either stock or bonds was not, in the last resort, obligatory upon the existing company. In the second place, it was urged that the stock was issued in order to obey the Ohio law that forbids the issue of any more bonds than there is stock. In other words, with charming *naïveté*, this company claims that it issued the watered stock out of its supreme desire to obey the existing law. A more delightful illustration of the willful perversion of the meaning of a statute could not be imagined. The framers of the Ohio law, of course, did not mean to compel stock watering, but to restrict it. The result well illustrates how corporation attorneys often play ducks and drakes with laws that are inconvenient to them, and then insist that they are eager to obey the law.

This Columbus company, which in 1892 had just paid \$2,250,000 for its property, took oath to the tax assessors through its vice-president, that it was worth only \$144,000. Even as late as May, 1899, when it had outstanding \$6,500,000 of par value of securities worth fully that in the market, the company declared under oath that its property was worth only \$417,074, and in 1900, shortly before it sought the new ordinance, it declared to the assessors that its physical property, apart from its franchise, could not be sold for \$375,000. Yet real estate in the city in the hands of private individuals is in general assessed for one-half of its value.

In order to buy out other roads that had started in the city, the company after 1892 issued other bonds with which to pay not only for physical property, but for franchises, or for improvements to take the place of old equipment which was discarded, but whose cost was not written off the capital account. Hence at the present time the bonds of the company amount to \$5,372,000, while through the same interesting obedience to Ohio law, as above described, the stock has been increased to \$6,000,000. Not one dollar of the entire stock has ever been paid into the treasury of the company out of the pockets of

the stockholders, while the bonds as indicated, are more than double the value of the physical property of the road. Yet not only have the bonds been sold at par, but the \$3,000,000 of preferred stock was selling at nearly 100 when a new franchise was sought, and the \$3,000,000 common stock was selling at over 35. The entire value of this stock represented not the worth of their existing franchises, but the gamble of the investors that new franchises of enormous value would be soon freely given away by the city in return for very moderate concessions, as proved to be the case.

Mr. Johnson argued that the nearly 21,000,000 passengers carried in 1900 would increase to fully 31,000,000 within three or four years if the fare was reduced to three cents. He then held that the profit per passenger would be at least one cent, which would be equal to six per cent on over \$5,000,000, and with the prospect of still further increase long before the twenty-five years of the new franchise had expired, while he assumed that this \$5,000,000 would not only pay for the present structural value of the old plant, but would pay over \$1,000,000 for the value of any franchises they still possessed, and leave another \$1,000,000 for the improvement of the track, rolling stock and power plant.

The company, however, secured the passage of the ordinance it desired. Seven tickets for twenty-five cents, with universal transfers, were conceded. This would mean, if everyone bought tickets, an average of only 3.56 cents, and if three-quarters of the people bought tickets, an average of 3.92 cents. Columbus, therefore, has secured the lowest rate of fare of any city on the continent, although this is fully three-fourths of a cent higher than was offered by the present mayor of Cleveland.

When the ordinance extending the franchises came up for final passage in the city council, February 4, last, it was well understood that the council were determined to pass it. Rumors were rife of bribery, and threats of violence against those suspected of receiving the same were in the air. The then mayor, who believed in the extension of the old franchise, not only filled the lobby with police but had a militia company drilling overhead, and declared that it would remain there until the council had adjourned.

Since the passage of the ordinance cases have been instituted in the courts by one or more Columbus citizens to test the legality of the new franchise and of the claims of the company to perpetual rights on the most valuable streets. It is proposed to carry the suits up to the United States Court, if necessary, and the briefs that have been filed on both sides constitute perhaps the most exhaustive treatment of the legality of unlimited franchises that ever has been prepared. What-

ever the outcome, it is clear that the people would have been far better satisfied and their rights would have been far better preserved, had the law given the voters, on petition of a certain percentage, the right of approval or disapproval of the ordinance as it passed the council. The whole history of the case has been a great education to the people in the profitableness of these great franchises and the weakness of our city councils, as now organized, to cope properly with such matters.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

Superintendent of Water Works, Cleveland, Ohio.

THE STATE MILITARY PENSION SYSTEM OF TENNESSEE.

The maintenance of a military pension system in the United States is usually considered to be one of the functions of the Federal Government. But it is by no means an exclusive function. The national system provides only for the Union soldiers of the Civil War, and expressly bars from its benefits those who fought in the Confederate armies. For this reason, the individual southern states have very generally established pension systems for the aid of the disabled or indigent Confederate veterans among their citizens. Some of these systems are based upon provisions in the constitutions of the states concerned and others upon statutory enactments. In comparison with the heavy expenditures of the national government, the payments made by these states are small. But the considerable amount expended by some of the states in proportion to their resources is shown in the case of Georgia, which, in the years 1893 to 1900, paid out between four and five million dollars to Confederate pensioners.

A recent report (August 10, 1901) on the Confederate pensioners of Tennessee furnishes some interesting information with regard to the operation of the pension laws of that state. The present pension system of Tennessee owes its existence to a law of 1891. It is administered by a Board of Pension Examiners, consisting of the Comptroller and Attorney-General of the state and of three ex-Confederate soldiers "suggested by the Tennessee Division of Confederate veterans," appointed by the Governor, and holding office for two years without pay. This board has full and final power to hear and determine all applications for pensions, and to strike from the rolls at any time, after due notice and hearing, any names which may be improperly there.

Nominally, the Tennessee law provides for Federal and Confederate soldiers alike. But since it must appear that applicants "are not pensioners entitled to pension under the laws of the Federal Government or of any other state," the benefits of the act are in fact confined to Confederate soldiers. The national laws are more liberal.

than those of Tennessee, both as to requirements and rates. Hence, all citizens of Tennessee who fought in the Federal armies look for pensions to the Federal system rather than to the state system. Applicants for pensions must also have been *bona fide* residents of the state for one year before making application, their characters as soldiers must have been free from dishonor and they must not be already in possession of a competency. Pensions are not allowed unless it clearly appears that the applicant's disabilities resulted from some injury received while engaged in the military service, and while in the line of duty, or in prison.

The law of 1891 provides for three classes of pensioners, as follows:

"1. For total disability, such as the loss of both arms, both legs or both eyes, or the use of the same, either in battle, skirmish, or on picket, or from sickness, exposure or other injuries received during the war, in prison or on the way home, \$25 per month.

"2. For partial disability, such as the loss of one arm and one leg, either in battle, skirmish, or on picket, or one of the aforesaid limbs lost in battle or skirmish, or on picket, and the other so disabled as to since render it useless or make amputation necessary, \$10 per month.

"3. For smaller disability, such as the loss of one leg or one arm, or the use of the same, either in battle, skirmish or on picket, or in prison, \$8.33 1/3."

The pensions allowed under this Act are payable quarterly. No arrears payment is allowed beyond the date of making application, and in no case for more than one year. If any pensioner acquires a competency sufficient for his support, ceases to be a resident of the state or dies, it is the duty of the Board of Pension Examiners to strike his name from the roll. In certain cases, applicants for pensions, having no families, are allowed a support in the Confederate Soldiers' Home in lieu of a pension. It is the duty of the board to withhold pensions from those who habitually waste the state's bounty in dissipation or other dishonorable manner. Where there exists a doubt as to the worthiness of a pensioner, or where charges have been preferred by reputable persons, the law directs the secretary of the Board of Examiners to visit the pensioner and to fully investigate his condition, both physical and financial, and to submit a report of this investigation to the board for appropriate action.

The recently published report on the Confederate pensioners of Tennessee contains the name of every man on the roll with the county of his residence. Objections to names improperly on the roll are invited by the Board of Pension Examiners from all parties interested. The board says: "The character of the Confederate soldiers and the stability of the pension law are involved in keeping the rolls free

from dishonor, and we urge that all parties in interest may transmit to us such information as will enable us to act justly and according to law—punish none through malice, nor reward any through sympathy."

The number of pension applications filed to August 10, 1901, was 3,584. Of this number, 2,133 applications have been rejected or passed without final action, there are now 1,214 pensioners on the roll, 204 pensioners have died, sixteen have been sent to the Confederate Home, and seventeen have left the state. Of the pensioners now on the rolls, sixteen receive \$300 each per year, twenty-three receive \$120 per year and 1,175 receive \$100 per year. This makes a total annual expenditure by Tennessee for Confederate pensions of \$125,060.

Many of the Southern states pay annually for Confederate pensions amounts considerably in excess of the above. Georgia, in 1900, expended for widows' pensions \$214,140, for pensions to invalid soldiers \$195,000, for pensions to indigent soldiers \$267,960, making a total of \$677,100. In the same year, Mississippi expended \$149,035 and Virginia \$135,000. In Louisiana, the annual pension expenditure is limited to \$50,000 and in North Carolina to \$200,000.

It is interesting, by way of comparison, to examine the statistics of Federal pensioners in Tennessee. In 1900, there were 18,241 residents of Tennessee on the national pension rolls, receiving during that year the sum of \$2,559,226.40. This was an average annual rate of about \$140 as compared with an average rate of \$103 paid by the state to the 1,214 Confederate pensioners. Tennessee, though a seceding state during the Civil War, has more pensioners on the Federal rolls than such states as Connecticut, Maryland, Minnesota, West Virginia and Nebraska. There is a somewhat greater number of pensioners in New Jersey and also in California than in Tennessee, but the expenditure in the latter state exceeds that in either of the other two. Among the seceding states, Tennessee ranks first in the number of Federal pensioners, Arkansas being second with 10,732. However, if the pensioners in Virginia and West Virginia should be combined for this purpose, Virginia would lead with 22,361.

It seems rather surprising that Tennessee, a seceding state, should have fifteen times as many Federal as Confederate pensioners. There are facts which will explain the presence of the names of many citizens of Tennessee on the national rolls. During the Civil War, a considerable portion of the people of the state remained loyal, especially in eastern Tennessee. This element contributed largely to the strength of the Union armies in the field. Since the war, there has also been an influx into Tennessee of many citizens of northern states who served in regiments from those states. Again, the Federal laws

are more liberal than the state laws in providing for widows and dependent relatives, and for soldiers whose disabilities are not of service origin. It is doubtful whether all of the above influences will account entirely for the discrepancy between the numbers of Federal and Confederate pensioners in the state. There seems to be strong probability that in the administration of the state law greater success is met in excluding from the rolls the names of persons whose claims are without merit or are of a fraudulent character. The comparative simplicity of the law, the publication and distribution of the list of pensioners, and better opportunities for the personal examination of applicants would all tend toward this end. Though not as liberal as might be advisable, the Tennessee law seems to be a reasonable disability provision, carefully administered, and, in many respects, typical of what is being done throughout the South for the ex-Confederate soldiers.

WILLIAM H. GLASSON.

George School, Pa.

ABUSES IN THE GRAIN TRADE OF THE NORTHWEST.

During the past three summers I have spent several months in the grain region of North Dakota, and have taken occasion to investigate the charges which have been freely made for many years that the farmers of the northwest were systematically defrauded by the elevator companies. I find that these charges of unfair dealing are, in the main, well grounded.

The farming industry of the northwest has been established upon a basis of borrowed money. The land was generally given away by the government, but for buildings and machinery the homesteader turned to the money lender. Owing to the uncertainties of his industry, confined almost entirely to a single crop, and also because of the high rates of interest charged, the amount of money which could be borrowed by any one man, was, in relation to his need of capital, insufficient. In general the farmers have been able to house their families and their stock, but shelters for machinery and storage for grain have not yet been provided, save in a few cases. The difficulty in erecting buildings arises not only from the lack of capital but from the high price of lumber.

In the early days of the grain industry, wheat was heaped up by the railroad tracks until cars could be furnished. The farmers had no storage and the railroads were forced to provide storage facilities at all the way stations to keep the grain from spoiling. Large elevator companies in connection with railroads were organized with headquarters in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and hundreds of branch elevators were built which now provide adequate facilities for storing

all grain brought to them, and which also buy grain, by grade, and pay cash for it. There is no pressure brought to bear upon the farmers to force them to sell to the elevator companies. They have the option of storing their grain with the local elevator and of shipping it to Minneapolis, where it will be graded and sold according to the state inspection. Few farmers, however, are in position to wait for the result of an extended transaction of this nature. They need money to pay interest, wages and store bills. The storekeeper who has trusted them for six months is clamoring for his money. The nomadic labor force is anxious to get back to Chicago, and the local bank has an agent on the ground to look out for its interests. Under this three-fold pressure for money, the needy grower must sell his wheat immediately.

The selling price is based on the current price at Minneapolis, but the grade depends on the say of the local elevator man. No. 1, Northern Spring, on October 2, sold at Minneapolis for $67\frac{1}{4}$ c.; No. 2 for $64\frac{1}{4}$ c., and No. 3 for $61\frac{1}{4}$ c.; rejected for 58 c. The price paid, it is evident, varies greatly with the quality of the wheat as indicated by the grade. It is in this grading by local representatives of the large elevator companies where the farmer receives unfair treatment. A farmer drives up with a load of wheat, the elevator man looks at it, and remarks that it is "a little off color," or he tests it and says that "it won't weigh up to No. 1." He offers to buy the wheat as No. 2, or often as No. 3. The farmer may be reasonably certain that his wheat should grade No. 1, but he has no alternative but to accept the offer of the elevator man. He has no place in which to store his grain. His various creditors are pressing him for immediate payment, and he must have money at once. With all this pressure upon him he says to himself: "What's the difference? It's only a matter of a few cents a bushel," and sells his wheat on the elevator man's terms.

That the example just given is typical of conditions throughout the more recently settled portions of the northwest the writer is fully satisfied. It is of course not warranted to charge the grain buyer with consciously defrauding the farmer. He probably does no more than to give himself invariably the benefit of every doubt. But in the grading of wheat, a judgment which can be based upon no fixed standards, and which depends almost wholly for its accuracy upon the fair and unbiased mind of the inspector, it is clear that doubts are always arising. In illustration of the largeness of the opportunity for partisan and unfair dealing which the looseness of the standards of inspection present, I offer the following description of the various grades of spring wheat, recognized by the Illinois Railroad and Warehouse Commission:

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No. 1, Spring.—Must be sound, plump and well cleaned.

No. 2, Spring.—Must be sound, reasonably clean and of good milling quality.

No. 3, Spring.—Includes all inferior, shrunken, dirty spring wheat, weighing not less than fifty-three pounds to the bushel.

With such a wide latitude of judgment, it is nothing strange that the elevator man should almost invariably discriminate against the farmer to the advantage of his company or himself. An actual illustration of this unfair treatment which came under my own observation is of interest. During the month of August, a farmer living near Fargo, North Dakota, hauled several loads of wheat to a local elevator. His grain was of good color, but light in weight, owing to the small size of the kernels. The buyer would only receive it as "rejected" wheat, a grade lower than No. 3. Not being pressed for money, the farmer decided to ship his grain for his own account. He also shipped another lot which the elevator graded No. 3. In all he shipped nearly five thousand bushels, and received No. 2 prices for all except one of the eight cars, and this sold for only one cent per bushel under the No. 2 price. On 5,000 bushels the difference between No. 2 and No. 3 prices, in last August, was \$282.75, which would have gone to the elevator company, had this farmer been circumstanced as are most of his neighbors.

The elevator companies also make large profits by judicious "mixing" of different grades. An elevator, for example, can mix an extra good grade of No. 2 with a little of No. 1, and make it all go No. 1. Again, No. 3 can be mixed with No. 2 to make the entire lot grade No. 2. An employee of an elevator company remarked in my hearing, "The secret of the trade is to know how much poor wheat a bin of good wheat can stand, without changing the grade." The elevator companies draw their supplies from such a large territory that many varieties of grain are at their disposal for mixing. This, however, is not a matter which directly concerns the farmers, but is between the state inspectors and the elevator companies. So far as the farmers are concerned, to recur in conclusion, to their peculiar grievance of undergrading by the local elevators, this is an evil which can only be remedied as the growing wealth of that section makes them more independent of creditors, increases the number and size of farm storage bins, and frees the grain grower from his present bondage to the elevator companies. The experience of the Dakota farmer shows the wisdom of the general practice throughout the West, which secures an impartial inspection and grading of grain by assigning that duty to public officials.

Meadville, Pa.

LEWIS WALKER, JR.

PERSONAL NOTES.

University of Arkansas.—Professor S. J. McLain was appointed in June to investigate complaints which have arisen in Canada in reference to alleged excessive and discriminatory freight and passenger rates. He spent the summer engaged in this investigation and is now preparing a report for the Department of Railways and Canals. The scope of his instructions covered a report on the question of the advisability or otherwise of establishing a railway commission in Canada to deal with the matters complained of. In 1899 Professor McLain prepared a report which was presented to the Minister of Railways and Canals, with reference to the working of railway commissions in the United States and England. A personal note relating to Professor McLain appeared in the *ANNALS*, September, 1899,¹ since which time he has published the following papers:

"*Canadian Railways and the Bonding Question.*" *Journal of Political Economy*, 1899.

"*The Teaching of Civics.*" *Arkansas School Journal*, 1900.

"*The Study of Economics.*" *The Ozark*, 1900.

"*Bank Note Circulation in the United States.*" *Proceedings of the Arkansas Bankers' Association*, 1900.

"*Evolution of Banking.*" *Proceedings of Northwest Arkansas Bankers' Association*, 1900.

"*Federal Regulation of Railways in the United States.*" *Economic Journal*, 1900.

"*State Regulation of Railways in the United States.*" *Ibid.*, 1900.

"*The Railway Policy of Canada, 1849-1867.*" *Journal of Political Economy*, March and June, 1901.

"*The Use of Credit Instruments in Business in Arkansas.*" *Proceedings of the Arkansas Bankers' Association*, 1901.

Brown University, Providence, R. I.—Professor William Macdonald, of Bowdoin, has been called as Professor of History at Brown University to succeed Professor J. Franklin Jameson. A personal note relating to Professor Macdonald will be found in the *ANNALS* for November, 1893,² since which time he has been a frequent contributor to "*The Nation*," "*New York Evening Post*," "*The Forum*," and other periodicals. He published an article on "*The French Canadians in New England*" in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for April, 1898. He has been chairman of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association since the

¹ Vol. xiv, p. 220.

² Vol. iv, p. 457.

creation of the commission in January, 1900. He has edited "Johnston's High School History of the United States" and published the following books:

"*Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History, 1606 to 1775.*"

"*Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States, 1776 to 1861.*"

Bryn Mawr College, Pa.—Mr. Alvin Saunders Johnson has been appointed Reader in Economics. Mr. Johnson was born at Homer, Dakota County, Nebraska, December 18, 1874, and received his early education in the public schools of that place. He studied also at the Latin School of the University of Nebraska and at the University of Nebraska, graduating in 1897 with the degree of A. B. and taking the degree of A. M. at the same university in 1898. He was a student at Columbia University from 1898 to 1901.

Chicago University, Chicago, Ill.—Professor John Franklin Jameson, formerly of Brown University, has been appointed Professor of History at Chicago University. Professor Jameson was born near Boston, Mass., September 19, 1859. His early education was received at the public schools of Boston and at the Roxbury Latin School. He entered Amherst in 1875, graduating with the degree of A. B. in 1879. He then entered Johns Hopkins University, from which institution he took the degree of Ph. D. in 1882. He received the degree of LL. D. from Amherst in 1898. Professor Jameson served as Assistant and later as Associate in History at the Johns Hopkins University from 1882 to 1888, and was Professor of History in Brown University from 1888 to 1901. He has been the managing editor of the "American Historical Review" from its beginning in 1895 to 1901, and was the Chairman of the Historical Manuscript Commission of the American Historical Association from its beginning in 1895 to 1899. He has been a member of the Council of the American Historical Association since December, 1900. Among the more important books which Professor Jameson has published are the following:

"*Willem Usselinx, Founder of the Dutch and Swedish West India Companies.*" 1887.

(Editor.) "*Essays on the Constitutional History of the United States.*" 1889.

"*History of Historical Writing in America.*" 1891.

"*Dictionary of United States History.*" 1894.

College Settlements Association Fellowship.—At the last annual meeting of the College Settlements Association the Association decided to establish a fellowship for research and investigation. The matter was left in the hands of a committee composed of Miss Emily

G. Balch, of Wellesley College, chairman; Mrs. Herbert Parsons, New York City, and Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, of the University of Pennsylvania. The conditions attached to the fellowship were that the appointee should reside at a settlement approved by the committee, and should work under the direction of the committee and of the Head Worker of the settlement thus chosen. Furthermore, that a year should be devoted to the study of some problem related to settlement work. The fellowship has been awarded to Miss Mary Buell Sayles, who has chosen to take up residence at Whittier House, Jersey City. Miss Sayles is a graduate of Smith College, Class of 1900; has been a resident of Whittier House; has had practical experience in philanthropic work in the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, and was a student during the past summer at the Summer School of Philanthropy under the auspices of the New York Charity Association Society. Her investigation will centre in a study of the housing conditions of the poorer classes in three or more districts of Jersey City. The interest which is taken in this investigation extends beyond the limits of settlement work and Dr. McGill, the Health Officer of Jersey City, has appointed Miss Sayles Deputy Health Inspector, which will give her official rights in carrying out her investigations. Miss Sayles' past work has been exceptionally thorough and her qualifications for the task she is about to undertake are many. She was selected by the committee from a large number of applicants, many of whom were college graduates and also well qualified for the particular work which they proposed. The need for a study of the conditions existing in Jersey City, and the exceptional co-operation in such work which is promised by the various agencies in Jersey City, together with Miss Sayles' peculiar qualifications, make this choice of the committee one which promises good results.

University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado.—Mr. Walter Hammond Nichols has been appointed Professor of History and Political Science. Professor Nichols was born at Chicago February 19, 1866. He received his early education at Salt Lake Academy (Congregational), and at Salt Lake Collegiate Institute (Presbyterian) in Salt Lake City, Utah, graduating from the latter institution in June, 1887. He entered the University of Michigan in 1887, graduating with the degree of B. S. in 1891. During the years 1893 to 1895 Professor Nichols was a student at the University of Chicago, and in 1897-98 he was Assistant in History at the University of Colorado, and from February, 1900, to June, 1901, was again a student at Columbia University, during which time he worked on historical manuscripts from the State Library at Albany under the direction of Professor H. L. Osgood, of Columbia University, a member of the Historical Manuscript Commission of the

American Historical Association. He was also Secretary of Teachers' College, Columbia University, from June, 1898, to February, 1900. Professor Nichols is a member of the American Historical Association and an active member of the National Educational Association. He is at present at work on a monograph on "New York as a Royal Province During the Reign of George the Second."

Columbia University.—Dr. H. A. Cushing has been appointed Lecturer in History and Constitutional Law. A note relating to Dr. Cushing was published in the ANNALS for September, 1896,¹ in which year he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia University. He has since graduated (1901) with the degree of LL. B. from the Columbia Law School and is a member of the New York Bar. He published in 1896 "A History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government in Massachusetts," and has now in preparation as editor a volume of the writings of Samuel Adams, which will be published by the Putnams.

Mr. Milo Roy Maltbie has been appointed Prize Lecturer in Administrative Law and Municipal Government. Mr. Maltbie was born at Hinckley, De Kalb County, Ill., April 3, 1871, and received his early education at the Hinckley public schools. He entered Upper Iowa University in 1888, graduating from that institution with the degree of Ph. B. in 1892. He then entered Northwestern University and took the degree of Ph. M. in 1893 and the degree of Ph. D. at Columbia University in 1897, at which latter institution he had been a student during the two academic years 1895 to 1897. From 1893 to 1895 Doctor Maltbie was Professor of Mathematics and Political Economy at Mount Morris College, Illinois. During the period of his studies at Columbia University he was Fellow in Administrative Law. He is now secretary of the Reform Club Committee on City Affairs, New York, which position he has held since 1897, at which date he became also editor of Municipal Affairs. He was a Lecturer on Government at Brooklyn Institute in 1897 to 1899, and Lecturer on Municipal Government for the Board of Education of New York City from 1897 to date. Doctor Maltbie was awarded the Dewey Prize of \$100 at Northwestern University in 1893, and the Cushing Prize of \$100 for work on Municipal Government at Northwestern University in 1893. He is a member of the American Economic Association and of its Council and of the Society for Checking Abuses of Public Advertising (London), of the Municipal Arts Society, New York City, and of the Social Reform Club of New York City. Among Doctor Maltbie's recent publications are the following:

¹ Vol. viii, p. 353.

"*The Effects of Central Administrative Control in England.*" Chapter VI in Goodnow's *Municipal Problems*.

"*English Local Government of To-day: A Study of the Relations of Central and Local Governments.*" Vol. IX, No. 1. Columbia University Studies, pp. 296, 1897.

"*The English Local Government Board.*" Political Science Quarterly, June, 1898.

"*Municipal Functions.*" 8vo, 220 pp. Municipal Affairs, December, 1898.

"*Recent Municipal Progress in London.*" *Ibid.* June, 1898.

"*Water Supply of London and Philadelphia.*" *Ibid.* June, 1899.

"*Municipal Socialism in America.*" Labor Annual for 1900.

"*Municipal Tramways of Glasgow.*" Municipal Affairs, March, 1900.

"*Lighting in Great Britain.*" *Ibid.* September, 1900.

"*Street Railway Franchises.*" Report of Chicago Street Railway Commission, 1900.

"*Cost of Government in City and State.*" (New York.) *Ibid.* December, 1900.

"*Municipalities and Vice.*" *Ibid.*

"*Municipal Political Parties.*" Pro. National Municipal League, 1900.

"*Street Railways of Chicago.*" Municipal Affairs, June, 1901.

Iowa State University.—Mr. Simeon E. Thomas has been appointed Assistant Instructor of Political Science. Mr. Thomas was born in Muskingdom County, Ohio, February 6, 1872, and received his early education in the public schools of Kansas and West Virginia. He studied at Upper Iowa University from 1894 to 1898, receiving the degree of Ph. B. from that institution in 1898 and the degree of A. M. from Iowa State University in 1901. He was Fellow in Political Science in Iowa State University in 1900-01. His thesis for the Master's degree, which will be published shortly, is on "Federal Legislation Concerning Alcoholic Spirits 1789 to 1860." Mr. Thomas is a member of the Political Science Club of Iowa State University and of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Johns Hopkins University.—Sidney Sherwood, Associate Professor of Economics in the Johns Hopkins University, died after a brief illness at Ballston, N. Y., August 5, 1901. While spending a part of his vacation on a farm he accidentally cut his right hand. Blood poisoning ensued, which led to fatal results in spite of the best medical aid. He was buried at Cornwall-on-the-Hudson, where for many years he maintained a summer home.

Dr. Sherwood was born at Ballston, May 28, 1860. He graduated

from Princeton College in 1879, then entered Columbia University, where he studied law and afterwards practiced that profession in New York City. Having become interested in economic questions he entered the Johns Hopkins University in 1888 in order to pursue advanced studies under Professor Richard T. Ely, and History under Professor H. B. Adams. Dr. Sherwood continued there until 1891 when he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and was called at once to the University of Pennsylvania as Instructor in Economics. In 1892, Dr. Sherwood returned to Baltimore, having been appointed Associate in Economics; in 1895 he was made associate professor.

Professor Sherwood was a man of modest demeanor, but beneath his quiet manners he revealed most amiable as well as most substantial qualities. To his intimate friends he was the personification of reliability and common sense. As a teacher and writer he gave evidence of solid attainments and well-balanced judgment. As a member of the American Economic Association his services and advice were made available on important committees. His contributions to the literature of economics were numerous. His most extensive single work is "The History and Theory of Money," published in 1891 and 1893. The economics of money and commerce was his favorite topic in his courses of University lectures. Only recently he spent several months in Germany studying again the banking system of that country. Important articles have been published on these and other subjects in the economic journals. Nor should one omit to name the numerous dissertations written by his students to whom he was the inciting cause and guiding hand. The publications of the Johns Hopkins University, the periodical press and the book lists are witnesses to valuable services in this direction.

Professor Sherwood was in the prime of his powers and looked forward to a long period of activity, but when informed of the fatal nature of the attack accepted the inevitable with philosophical calmness.

In 1891 he was married to Miss Mary A. Beattie, of Cornwall, who survives him with their five children.

Some of the more important of Dr. Sherwood's publications are as follows :

"*The Relation of University Extension to the University of the State of New York.*" New York Mail and Express, June 20, 1891.

"*Syllabus of a Course of Twelve Lectures on the History and Theory of Money.*" University Extension Lectures, Philadelphia, No. 34, 1892.

"*The Rates Question in Recent Railroad Literature.*" ANNALS of American Academy, July, 1892.

"*Bastable's Public Finance.*" ANNALS of American Academy, September, 1892.

"*Ross' Sinking Funds.*" ANNALS of American Academy, November, 1892.

"*University of the State of New York: Origin, History and Present Organization.*" Regents' Bulletin, No. 11, January, 1893.

"*Rogers' Industrial and Commercial History of England.*" ANNALS of American Academy, September, 1893.

"*The American Bankers' Association: Its Origin, its Work and its Prospects.*" Proceedings of Nineteenth Annual Convention of the American Bankers' Association, New York, 1893.

"*The History and Theory of Money.*" Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 8vo, 1893.

"*The Nature of the Mechanism of Credit.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, January, 1894.

"*University Extension as a Method of Research.*" University Extension, May, 1894.

"*Shirres' Analysis of the Ideas of Economics.*" ANNALS of American Academy, July, 1894.

"*Money in Legislation.*" The Chautauquan, January, 1896.

"*An Alliance with England the Basis of a Rational Foreign Policy.*" The Forum, March, 1896.

"*Smart's Studies in Economics.*" ANNALS of American Academy, March, 1896.

"*Taussig's Wages and Capital.*" *Ibid.*, November, 1896.

"*Banking Reform.*" Review of Reviews, January, 1897.

"*The Philosophical Basis of Economics.*" ANNALS of American Academy, September 5, 1897.

"*The Function of the Undertaker.*" Yale Review, November, 1897.

"*Tendencies in American Economic Thought.*" Johns Hopkins University Studies, Fifteenth Series, No. 12.

"*Davidson's Bargain Theory of Wages.*" ANNALS of American Academy, May, 1898.

"*Pantaleoni's Pure Economics.*" Journal of Political Economy, September, 1898.

"*Over-sea Expansion from an Economic Point of View.*" Johns Hopkins University News Letter, February 8, 1899.

"*The New German Bank Law.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, February, 1900.

"*Influence of the Trust in the Development of Undertaking Genius.*" Proceedings of American Economic Association for 1899; also in Yale Review, February, 1900.

"*The University of the State of New York.*" Washington Bureau of Education, Circulars of Information, No. 3, 1900.

"*Masayoshi's Gold Standard in Japan.*" Political Science Quarterly, March, 1901.

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Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.—Mr. Robert James Sprague has been appointed Professor of History and Economics. Mr. Sprague was born at Frankfort, Waldo County, Maine, January 19, 1868. He received his early education at the village school and at the East Maine Seminary of Bucksport, Maine. He entered Ohio Wesleyan University in 1892 and remained there until 1894. He then entered Boston University in 1895 and graduated from that institution with the degree of A. B. in 1897. He took the degree of A. M. from Boston University in 1899 and Harvard University in 1900, and the degree of Ph. D. of Boston University in 1901. Dr. Sprague taught Latin and mathematics at the Maine Seminary and Female College at Kent's Hill for one year, and has published a series of articles on the "Development of Southern Farms" in the *Boston Transcript* of May 25, June 1 and June 8, 1891.

Leland Stanford.—Dr. John Julius Halsey has been appointed Acting Head of the Department of Economics and Political Science at Leland Stanford Junior University, having been granted a year's leave of absence from Lake Forest University. He was born November 23, 1848, at Louisville, Ky., and received his early education at private schools in Chicago and in the old University of Chicago, which institution he attended from 1865 to 1870, taking the degree of B. A. in 1870. During 1870-71 Dr. Halsey was tutor in the Old Chicago University; Abstract of Title Maker, Chicago, from 1872 to 1875, and in 1873 received the degree of M. A. from Chicago. From 1875 to 1878 he was actively engaged in journalism. He then became Professor of Rhetoric and English in Lake Forest University, which position he held until 1881. From 1881 to 1889 he was Professor of English Literature and Political Science, and from 1889 to 1901 Professor of Political and Social Science at the same University. He was Acting President of Lake Forest University from 1895 to 1897 and Dean of the Faculty from 1899 to 1901. Dr. Halsey is a member of the American Historical Association and of the American Economic Association. He was a writer for *The Dial* from 1887 to 1900, during which time he contributed many signed and unsigned articles.

University of Michigan.—Professor Edward D. Jones accepted in June a call to the Assistant Professorship of Commerce and Industry at the University of Michigan and entered upon his duties in September. The professorship was established in connection with the course in Higher Commercial Education recently inaugurated in that university. A note relating to Professor Jones' past activities and academic work was published in the *ANNALS* for November, 1900,¹ During February and March, 1901, he delivered a course of fifteen

¹ Vol. xvi, p. 450.

lectures at the University of Michigan on the Industrial Resources of the United States. Since that time he has published a number of articles in *Leslie's Weekly*, treating of the leading industries of the United States. He has also published in the *Current Encyclopedia*, July number, 1901, an article on the Petroleum Industry.

National Conference of Charities and Correction.—Mr. Homer Folks was elected general secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction last May, and assumed the duties of that position on October 1. Mr. Folks was born February 18, 1867, at Hanover, Jackson County, Mich. He graduated from Albion College, Michigan, in 1889, and from Harvard University in 1900, receiving the degree of B. A. In August, 1890, he became general superintendent of the Childrens' Aid Society of Pennsylvania, with headquarters at Philadelphia. In February, 1893, he resigned this position to accept the secretaryship of the New York State Charities Aid Association, which position he still holds. In 1897 he was elected a member of the First Municipal Assembly of Greater New York from the twenty-ninth assembly district, on the citizens' union ticket, for a term of two years. In 1899-1900 he was a special agent of the United States Commission to the Paris Exposition, to assist in securing an exhibit on the subject of Charities for the Paris Exposition. In April, 1900, at the request of General Leonard Wood, Military-Governor of Cuba, he spent six weeks in Cuba studying the public relief of that island. He drew a Charities Law which was enacted in July, 1900, creating an Insular Department of Charities, establishing state institutions for dependent, destitute and delinquent children, and the insane, and a Bureau for Placing Children in Families. This bureau was organized under his personal direction, and has succeeded in reducing the number of children in orphan asylums from some five thousand to less than two thousand; some twenty-five orphan asylums were closed altogether; the plan of granting subsidies to private institutions has been practically discontinued, and the practice of assisting and caring for destitute children in Cuba now approximates that of the most progressive American states.

Mr. Folks has been, for several years, an assistant editor of the *Charities Review*, a member of the American Economic Association and the American Statistical Association. He has written:

"*A History of the Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children in the United States*," published in the *Charities Review*, November, 1899, to July, 1900, and now being published in book form by the Macmillan Company.

"*Child-Saving Work in Pennsylvania*," contributed to the report of the Committee on Dependent Children to the National

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Conference of Charities and Correction, 1893; press of George H. Ellis, Boston.

"*Family Life for Dependent and Delinquent Children*," two addresses before the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy, Chicago, 1893. Published in Proceedings by the Johns Hopkins Press, and reprinted by the author.

"*Some Developments of the Boarding-out System*," Charities Review, March, 1893.

"*Annual Reports of Child-Caring Agencies*," published in Lend-a-Hand, October, 1893, re-printed by the Conference of Child-Helping Societies, Boston, Mass.

"*The Care of Dependent Children*." Address at annual meeting of Baltimore Charity Organization Society, published in the annual report of the society for 1894.

"*The Removal of Children from Almshouses in the United States, 1894*." Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Correction.

"*State Supervision of Child-Caring Agencies, 1895*." Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Correction.

"*Why Should Dependent Children be Reared in Families Rather Than in Institutions?*" Address before Convention of Superintendents of the Poor of the State of New York, 1895, published in the Proceedings.

"*What Should be the Relations Between a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and Child-Saving Agencies?*" An address before the International Humane Congress, Chicago, 1893, reprinted in the Altruistic Interchange, New York, 1897.

"*Reform and Public Charities*," published in the Outlook, March 6, 1897.

"*The City's Health—Public Hospitals*," published in Municipal Affairs, June, 1898.

"*Administration of Public Charities*." Address before League of American Municipalities, 1899, published in Proceedings.

"*What Brought About the New York System of Caring for Dependent Children—Do These Reasons Still Exist?*" Address before first New York State Conference of Charities and Correction, 1900. Published in Proceedings, and in the Juvenile Record, Chicago, June, 1901.

"*The Charities Chapter of the Greater New York Charter*," published in American Journal of Sociology, September, 1901.

University of Nebraska.—Mr. Walter Wheeler Cook has been appointed Instructor in American History and Jurisprudence at Nebraska University, and will have charge of the work in American

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Constitutional Law, Administrative Law and Constitutional History of the United States. Mr. Cook was born at Columbus, O., June 4, 1873, was educated at the public schools of Columbus and of Chicago also at the State Normal School at Potsdam, N. Y., and at Rutgers Preparatory School at New Brunswick, N. J. He was a student at Rutgers College during 1890-91, and Columbia College 1891-94, graduating at the latter institution with the degree of A. B. in 1894, with the degree of A. M. in 1899, and with the degree of LL. M. at Columbia University in 1901. His university work was done at Columbia University in 1894-95 and at Jena, Leipsic and Berlin, 1895 to 1897, and again at Columbia University, 1897 to 1901. During the year 1894-95 Mr. Cook was Assistant in Mathematics at Columbia University, and during the years he studied there, 1895 to 1897, he was John Tyndall Fellow in Physics in Columbia University. He was again made Assistant in Mathematics in Columbia University from 1898 to 1901. He is a member of the New York Academy of Political Science, and has published recently an article in the *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1901, on "*How May the United States Govern the Philippine Islands?*"

New York University.—Professor Joseph French Johnson, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed Professor of Economics. In addition to the work in Economics he will have charge especially of the work in Finance, and will have the general oversight of the other work in the New York University School of Finance and Accounting. Professor Johnson is a native of Massachusetts, although most of his early life was spent in Illinois. He is a graduate of Harvard College (Class of 1878), and was a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. After graduation from Harvard he studied Political Economy and History for a year in Germany. Later he was a teacher in the Harvard School in Chicago. In 1891 he entered journalism and was actively engaged in that profession until 1893; at first with the "Springfield Republican" and then with the "Chicago Tribune" as its financial editor. In 1888 he established the "Spokane Republican," in Spokane, Washington. In 1893 he accepted a call to a professorship in the University of Pennsylvania. Among the more important papers published by Professor Johnson are the following:

"*The Silver Craze in the United States.*" *Economic Journal*, December, 1894.

"*Replies to the Interrogatories of the Indianapolis Monetary Commission.*" Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. 1898.

"*The Plan of the Monetary Commission.*" *ANNALS*, March, 1898.

"*The President's Civil Service Order of June 6, 1899.*" North American Review, November, 1899.

"*The Currency Act of March 14, 1900.*" Political Science Quarterly, September, 1900.

"*Syllabus of Lectures on Money and Banking.*" Washington, 1900.

"*Our Foreign Trade and Prosperity.*" North American Review, July, 1901.

Ohio State University, Columbus, O.—Mr. Theodore Clarke Smith has been appointed Assistant Professor of American History and Political Science. Mr. Smith was born in Boston, Mass., May 18, 1870. He received his early education in private schools and at the Roxbury Latin School. He entered Harvard University in 1888, graduating in 1892 with the degree of A. B. He took the degree of A. M. at the same institution in 1893, and the degree of Ph. D. in 1896. During the academic year 1894-95, Doctor Smith was University Fellow at the University of Wisconsin. He also studied at the University of Paris in 1896-97, and at the University of Berlin in 1897. During the academic year 1896-97 he held the Goodwin Memorial Fellowship at Harvard; he was the Instructor in History at the University of Michigan 1897-98; Instructor in History at Vassar College 1898-1900, and substituted one-half term for Professor Jameson at Brown University 1901, during which year he was also made assistant editor of the *American Historical Review*. He is a member of the American Historical Association, and was appointed a member of the committee on the Justin Windsor prize in 1900, and of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1901. Doctor Smith has published the following papers:

"*Free Soil Party in Wisconsin, 1895.*" Pp. 76. Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

"*The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest.*" The Topham Prize Essay for 1896. Published 1897. Pp. vii, 391. Harvard Historical Studies, No. VI.

"*Expansion After the Civil War.*" Pp. 24. Political Science Quarterly, September, 1901.

"*General Index to American Statesmen Series, 1900.*" Pp. vi, 473.

He has also published a number of book reviews in the Political Science Quarterly and in the American Historical Review.

University of Pennsylvania.—Mr. John Paul Goode has been appointed Instructor in Commerce in the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Goode was born at Stewartville, Olmsted County, Minn., November 21, 1862. He received his early education at Rochester Seminary, Minnesota, and entered the Univer-

sity of Minnesota in 1885, graduating from the same with the degree of B. S. in 1889. He was a student at the Harvard Summer School in 1894 and at the University of Chicago Summer School in 1895. He was appointed Fellow in Geology at the University of Chicago in 1896-97 and was a graduate student at the same institution 1898-99. He was also a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania in the academic year 1900-1901, taking the degree of Ph. D. at the latter institution in 1901. Dr. Goode was Professor of Natural Science at Moorhead State Normal School from 1889 to 1898 and Instructor in Physiography at the University of Minnesota during the summer term of 1896, also Instructor in Meteorology at the University of Chicago Summer School 1897 to 1900, and Professor of Physical Science and Geography at the Eastern Illinois State Normal School from 1899 to 1901. Dr. Goode is a member of the Minnesota Academy of Science, of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and of the Geological Society of America. He has published the following papers:

"*An Item on Ballot Reform.*" *The Nation*, 1889.

"*An Explanation of the So-called Pseudo Aurora.*" *Science*, 1895.

"*An Inherited Blunder (On Icebergs),*" 1896.

"*The Piracy of the Yellowstone.*" *Journal of Geology*, 1898.

Mr. George Winfield Scott has been appointed Assistant in Political Science. Mr. Scott was born at Adams, Jefferson County, New York, August 25, 1874, and received his early education at the High School of Watertown, New York, after which he entered Leland Stanford Junior University, graduating in 1896 with the degree A. B. He pursued graduate studies at Cornell University from 1896 to 1898; at Chicago University 1898-99, and at Columbia University 1899-1900. He entered the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania in September, 1900, and is still pursuing legal studies.

University of Tennessee, Nashville, Tenn.—Mr. Charles W. Dabney has been appointed Professor of Economics. A personal note relating to Professor Dabney appeared in the *ANNALS* for November, 1899,¹ since which time he has published the following papers:

"*Washington's Work for Education.*" *Proceedings of the Southern Educational Association* for 1899.

"*Washington's University.*" *The Forum*, February, 1900.

"*Reciprocity as a Widener of Southern Farmers' Markets.*" *Southern Farm Magazine*, March, 1900.

"*Education and Production of Wealth.*" *Manufacturers' Record*, December 20, 1900.

¹ Vol. xiv, p. 352.

"*Southwest and Immigration from the Old States.*" Southern Farm Magazine, January, 1901.

"*Outlook for Cotton Manufacturing in the South.*" Manufacturers' Record, January 3, 1901.

"*The Improvement of our Common Schools.*" Report for the Winston-Salem Educational Conference, 1901.

"*Resources of the Appalachian Region.*" Manufacturers' Record, August 15, 1901.

"*Resources and Economic Conditions in West Virginia.*" Manufacturers' Record, September, 1901.

"*Economic Advantages for Manufacturing in the South.*" Manufacturers' Record, September, 1901.

"*Agriculture in the United States.*" Encyclopedia Britannica, Supplement.

"*Agriculture in Canada.*" Encyclopedia Britannica, Supplement.

"*Political and Economic Conditions in Tennessee.*" Encyclopedia Britannica, Supplement.

Trinity College, Durham, N. C.—Mr. William Kenneth Boyd has been recently appointed Adjunct Professor of History in Trinity College. Professor Boyd was born January 10, 1879, at Curryville, Pike County, Mo., and received his early education in a private school near Asheville, N. C. He graduated from Trinity College with the degree of A. B. in 1897 and took his A. M. degree in 1898 at the same institution. He was awarded a scholarship in Columbia University for the academic year 1900-01. During the academic year 1897-98 Professor Boyd was assistant in History at Trinity College and Master in History and Latin at Trinity High School from 1898 to 1900. Professor Boyd is a member of the American Historical Association and has written the following papers:

"*William W. Holden,*" a study in reconstruction published in Trinity Historical Papers, series 3, pp. 75.

"*Ad Valorem Slave Taxation,*" an economic study 1858 to 1860, published in Trinity Archives for October, 1900.

Washington and Lee University.—Professor H. Parker Willis, who was recently appointed Professor of Economics and Political Science at Washington and Lee, has become a member of the editorial board of the New York *Evening Post*. Since January, 1899, the date at which a personal note relating to Professor Willis appeared in the ANNALS,¹ he has published two essays in the

¹ Vol. xiii, p. 94.

Sound Currency Series for 1899. (1) "The Monetary Reform in Russia," and (2) "The Austrian Monetary Reform," and in the same publication for 1901 an essay on "The Deposit and Clearing House System in Austria-Hungary." Among his larger publications is: "The History of the Latin Monetary Union," pp. 342, 1901, University of Chicago Press. Professor Willis has also been employed as an expert by the Virginia Association of Boards of Trade to draft legislation on railway control for the Virginia Constitutional Convention. He drafted the constitutional provision for a railway commission and a statute to accompany the provision.

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.—Mr. Jerome Dowd has been appointed Lecturer in Sociology. A personal note relating to Mr. Dowd appeared in the *ANNALS* for September, 1893,¹ since which time he has published the following papers:

"*Charity Work in the South.*" Outlook, December, 1896.

"*Obstacles to Bimetallism.*" Bankers' Magazine, February, 1897.

"*Tolstoi on Art.*" Art Interchange, January, 1898.

"*Textile War Between the North and South.*" Forum, June, 1898.

"*Opportunities for Southern Women.*" Gunton's Magazine, September, 1898.

"*Cheap Labor in the South.*" Guntons' Magazine, February, 1900.

"*Factors of Civilization.*" Arena, March, 1900.

"*Paths of Hope for the Negro.*" Century, December, 1900.

"*Art in Negro Homes.*" Southern Workman, February, 1901.

Yale University, New Haven, Conn.—Mr. Guy Stanton Ford has been appointed Assistant in History. Mr. Ford was born at Salem, Kenosha County, Wis., May 9, 1873. He received his early education at the public schools of Plainfield, Iowa, and at the Academy of Upper Iowa University, Fayette, Iowa. He was a student at the Upper Iowa University in 1890-91 and at the University of Wisconsin from 1892 to 1895, taking the degree of B. L. from the latter University in 1895. He entered upon his studies as a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin in the academic year 1898-99, and continued the same at the Universities of Berlin and Göttingen 1899 to 1900, and at the Columbia University 1900-01. During the years 1895 to 1898 he was City Superintendent of Schools at Grand Rapids, Wis. He will take his Doctor of Philosophy degree at Columbia upon the presentation of a thesis, which is now in preparation, on "Hanover from the Treaty of Basel to the French Occupation, 1795 to 1803." Mr. Ford is a member of the American Historical Association.

¹ Vol. IV, p. 309.

GERMANY.

Berlin.—The death is announced of Dr. Hans von Scheel on September 27, 1901. Dr. von Scheel was connected for twenty-five years with the Kaiserlichen Statistischen Amte and for ten years was its director.

Dr. Hans von Scheel was born at Potsdam, Germany, December 29, 1839. He entered academic life as privat-docent of political science at Halle in 1867-68. From 1868-71 he taught at the Agricultural Academy at Proskau. From there he was called (1871) as full Professor of Political Science at Bern, Switzerland, where he remained until he entered the Imperial Statistical Bureau in Berlin in 1891.

He was a prolific writer; among his more important books and monographs are the following :

"*De Pecuniæ nomine ac natura quid senserint Romani et imprimis Jureconsulti.*" Halæ, 1864. Jur. Doktor-Diss.

"*De Corporis juris civilis principiiis æconomicis.*" (Habilitationsschrift), Halæ, 1867.

"*Die Theorie der Sozialen Frage.*" Jena, 1871.

"*Das Gesetz über die Einkommensteuer im Kanton Bern.*" Jena, 1874.

"*Erbschaftssteuer und Erbschaftsreform.*" Jena, 1877.

"*Eigenthum und Erbrecht.*" Berlin, 1877.

"*Unsire socialpolitischen Partien.*" Leipzig, 1878.

"*Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft am Schlusse des 19ten Jahrhunderts.*" Pub. of the Statist. Bureau. Berlin, 1900.

As Director of the Imperial Statistical Bureau Dr. von Scheel was the author of many reports, introductions and summaries published in connection with the statistical publications of his bureau. He also prepared the monthly Review of Foreign Trade, and the Quarterly Journal of Statistics of the German Empire. His chief magazine articles are noted in Conrad's Handwörterbuch, to which he contributed many articles, as also for Schönberg's Handbuch.

BELGIUM.

University of Liège.—Professor Edouard Van der Smissen has been recently promoted to Ordinary Professor at the University of Liège, where he has held the position of Extraordinary Professor in the Law Faculty since 1895.

Professor Van der Smissen was born January 18, 1865, at Alost, Flanders Orientale, Belgium. He received his early education from 1874 to 1878 at St. Joseph's College, Alost, and from 1879 to 1883 at St. Michael's College at Brussels. He entered the University of Louvain in 1884, taking the degree of Doctor of Political Science

and Administration in 1886 and Doctor of Law in 1887. He has also been a student at some of the higher schools in Paris and published a memoir on the subject of Population, which was awarded a prize by the Institute of France in 1891. He was appointed Chargé de Cours at the University of Liège in 1892, and promoted as noted above. Since 1898 he has also held the position of Professor at École de Guerre at Brussels and from 1892 to 1897 has been Adjunct Secretary of the Superior Council of Labor. In 1892 he was also one of the secretaries of the International Monetary Conference at Brussels. He is a member of the Société d'Economie Sociale and of the Société de Statistique of France, being a corresponding member of the latter. He is also a member of the Société d'Economie Sociale of Belgium and was President of that Society for the year 1900-01. He is also a member of the Société Scientifique of Belgium, and has been President of the Economic Section. Among the more important of Professor Van der Smissen's publications are the following:

La Population; les causes de ses progrès et les obstacles qui en arrêtent l'essor. Mémoire Couronné par l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques (Concours Rossi). One vol. in 8vo, de 561 pages. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie, 14, rue Richelieu. Bruxelles, Société belge de Librairie, 1893.

Dans la *Revue des Questions Scientifiques* (Belgique):

Octobre, 1891. Les Lois de Malthus (fragment inédit du mémoire couronné).

Juillet, 1892. De l'influence des doctrines de l'économie politique classique sur le socialisme scientifique.

Janvier, 1894. La question monétaire envisagée du point de vue théorique.

Octobre, 1898. L'étude du détail en économie politique.

Dans le *Moniteur des intérêts matériels* (Bruxelles-Paris):

Juillet, 1893. La crise monétaire.

Sept.-Oct.-Nov., 1898. Le Budget de la dette publique (en Belgique).

Juillet, 1899. Le taux de l'intérêt et la fonction économique de l'épargne.

Oct.-Nov., 1899. Janv.-Févr., 1900. La question de l'alcool.

Mars-Avril-Juillet-Septembre, 1900. Essai sur l'amortissement de la dette publique.

Mars-Mai, 1901. Etudes sur le chèque et la compensation (En cours de publication).

Dans les *Annales des Sciences Politiques* (précédemment: *Annales de l'École libre des sciences politiques*, Paris). Septembre, 1898. L'état actuel des partis politiques en Belgique. Janvier, 1899. La loi belge

de 1898 sur les syndicats. Juillet, Septembre, 1900. La représentation proportionnelle en Belgique et les élections générales de Mai. 1900.

Dans la *Revue Générale* (Bruxelles):

Juin, 1889. L'Irlande économique et sociale en 1889.

Janvier, 1894. Les idées économiques d'Endore Pirmy.

Mars, 1898. Les Unions professionnelles devant la chambre.

Oct., 1899. La réorganisation des Tribunaux militaires en Belgique.

Mars, 1900. Nos billets de banque.

Introduction au Rapport général sur la participation de la Belgique à l'*Exposition universelle internationale de Paris en 1900* dans le groupe de l'ECONOMIE SOCIALE. Bruxelles: Alfred Vromant & Co., imprimeurs-éditeurs, 3, rue de la Chapelle, 1901.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

"THE OLD PLANTATION: How We Lived in Great House and Cabin,"¹ by James Battle Avirett, describes in an entertaining way the life and customs of a large plantation in eastern North Carolina before 1860. The author is a son of the planter, whose life he so accurately and sympathetically depicts. He shows that the lot of the slaves on his father's plantation was a far happier one than "Uncle Tom's Cabin" would have us believe. He is convinced by a long study of the facts that the planters of the South were, as a rule, kind and humane in their treatment of their slaves. The work, though not a scientific one, is of great value and interest; its spirit is eminently fair.²

"THE LAND OF THE WINE" is the taking title of two handsome volumes from the pen of a well-known traveler in remote Madeira.³ This island, so out of the way, and so little known to us, has found a competent and sympathetic historian and geographer in Mr. Biddle, who has spent twelve years in collecting material for this work. The first volume is devoted to literary and descriptive matter, the second to more technical matters.

The story of the discovery of the island by Robert à Machin, a refugee from England, and the account of the courtship and marriage of Christopher Columbus, read like romance. The chapters devoted to sight-seeing and travel make a complete and thorough guide-book for intending visitors to the island. Every contingency is foreseen, from the choice of ocean routes from New York, to the price of pork and beans, or the hire of porters and carro. The picture that is painted of the beauties of scenery and luxuriance of vegetation, the balmy air and quaint customs of the people, make the place seem a paradise for invalids or as a winter resort.

The work is a splendid piece of bookmaking, type large and clear, paper of exceptional weight and velvet finish, and a very fine assortment of interesting illustrations in halftone, seventy-six of them full page. It is safe to say that the work will long remain the guide-book *par excellence* of the Madeiras.⁴

¹ Pp. 202. Price, \$1.50. New York, Chicago and London: F. Tennyson Neely Co., 1901.

² Contributed by Charles Lee Raper, University of North Carolina.

³ *The Land of the Wine*. By A. J. DREXEL BIDDLE. 2 vols. 8vo. Maps and illustrations. Pp. 267, 300. Price, \$7.50. Philadelphia: Drexel Biddle, 1901.

⁴ Contributed by Dr. J. Paul Goode.

"THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES," ANNOTATED,¹ by Professor Edwin E. Bryant, Dean of the Law Faculty of the University of Wisconsin, is designed as a text-book. It is admirably adapted for this use. The clauses of the constitution are set forth in bold-faced type. These are each followed by comments of the author and excerpts from decisions bearing on the points raised, with citations to leading cases. The principal subjects discussed under each clause are set forth in italics. This typographical arrangement gives clearness of argument and emphasis to classification. No commendation of the work for its purposes could be better than its authorship, as Professor Bryant is an able teacher as well as constitutional lawyer. His case comment is clear and pointed. The course as outlined gives a well-rounded view of the constitution.

"INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION,"² by Prof. Carl Bücher, of the University of Leipzig, has been translated by Dr. S. Morley Wickett, of Toronto University. The translation is well done. The title of the work is somewhat misleading—suggesting a general treatise. In fact, it is a broad generalization of the history of industrial progress in Germany. Most of the treatise is devoted to economic theory with an attempt to construct a system of development from prehistoric times. His generalizations follow List, and the other national economists. It is too general for history, and too highly theoretical for science. His theory is entertaining, but does not compel acceptance either as explaining German development or for working hypothesis in economic research.

"THE STORY OF PAPER MAKING"³ gives to the general reader a brief, but interesting, account of one of our most important industries. The history of the early methods of paper making is well treated. The closing chapters give an entertaining description of modern methods of manufacture.⁴

THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, in its May publications, has brought out in 805 pages a valuable contribution to the financial literature of the colonial period. The author, Dr. Andrew McFarland Davis, in Part I makes the "Currency"⁵ of the Massachusetts Bay

¹ Pp. 418. Price, \$2.50. Published by the Democrat Printing Company, Madison, Wis., 1901.

² Pp. 393. Price, \$3.00. New York: Holt & Co., 1901.

³ By J. W. Butler. Pp. viii, 136. Price, \$1.00. Chicago: J. W. Butler Paper Company, 1901.

⁴ Contributed by W. F. Hamilton.

⁵ Pp. 473. Price, \$1.75. New York: Macmillan Company, 1901.

Colony the subject of his thesis, while Part II is devoted to "Banking." The work is well illustrated with photographic cuts of bills and forms in common use at the time. The volume throws much light on the whole financial situation of the time, both at home and abroad. Of special interest is the attitude of England shown toward banking in this country. This has a direct bearing on the causes of discontent which led to revolution.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP and direction of Prof. W. A. Dunning of Columbia University a number of monographs on reconstruction have appeared. The most recent of these is "*Reconstruction in Mississippi*," by Dr. James Wilford Garner. Dr. Garner has gathered his materials by painstaking research in the field. From official documents, from private letters and public correspondence, from newspaper files, from the remembrances of men and women who lived through the experiences of the carpet-bag régime, he has collected the facts of reconstruction and woven them into a story that both entertains and impresses the reader as being worthy of confidence. Much had heretofore been loosely written, much of partisan literature produced; this bears the stamp of reliability. The work will take a permanent place—will stand as a pillar in reconstruction literature.¹

THE TWO ESSAYS on Education and the Unknowable,² published in one volume, by Professor de Greef of the New Brussels University, sustain, respectively, the following two theses. First, instruction must constantly adapt itself to social conditions and strive to follow social evolution in such a manner that simultaneously with increased specialization of training in technique and science, social activity as a whole and the *relative* rôle of each specialty may never be lost sight of. Secondly, the progress of well-balanced education will result in an increased equivalence and appreciation of the most varied kinds of labor—collective concepts of the universe will be transformed, and our beliefs, instead of being mainly religious and metaphysical, will become positive and relative.

VERBECK OF JAPAN³ is a somewhat rambling sketch of the beginning and growth of Christian missions in Japan, of which Verbeck was the most powerful and influential pioneer. It is written in a sim-

¹Pp. 422, 13. Price \$3.00. New York: Macmillan Company, 1901.

²*Problèmes de Philosophie Positive. L'Enseignement intégral—L'Inconnaissable.* By GUILLAUME DE GREEF. Pp. xi, 169. Price 3 francs. Paris: Schleicher frères. 1900.

³By WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS. Pp. 376. Price, \$1.50. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.

ple, unpretentious style. Apart from a certain dryness in the chapters devoted to the genealogy of Verbeck, the book makes pleasant reading. It is for those interested in mission work that the book is written. The average reader's delight in the quaintness of Japan is almost entirely ignored.¹

PROBABLY THE MOST conscientious general account of mediæval witchcraft and the inquisition, together with some explanation of the social causes which led to the rise and phenomenal spread of this peculiar aberration, is contained in Hansen's recent volume² in the collection published by the *Historische Zeitschrift*. It is a historical task of no mean importance to offer a satisfactory explanation of the dark shadow of mad persecution marking the same epoch as that which presented humanity with the renaissance, the reformation and the first magnificent results of the empirical sciences. Hansen's investigation has to do chiefly with the genesis of the belief in demons and witches, and, above all, with the problem of ascertaining through what circumstances it was possible for Christian culture, already a thousand years old, to give rise to such aberrations of intelligence and emotion among the authorities in church and state. The idea of witchcraft, lying at the basis of the great persecution, was by no means the simple product of popular phantasy, but was scientifically constructed and circumscribed, albeit with reference to popular superstitions. Its elements were evolved by the systematic theology of the mediæval church; it was carefully defined by the criminal law of church and state, and summarized by the rules of procedure of temporal and ecclesiastical tribunals.

The basis for the legal prosecution and punishment of sorcerers and witches had already been prepared by the popular belief in demons when the Christian church began to direct the affairs of occidental humanity. The church accepted the most important of popular superstitions, namely, the possibility and actual existence of sorcery; the church codified this belief in its system of laws and dogmas, stamping and forbidding it as sinful worship of the devil. But, like the Roman state and the temporal authorities in the Germanic empires, it condemned the group of popular credences concerning nocturnal witch rides and the transformation of human beings into animals, and treated them as false. When, however, during the epoch of scholasticism, the church undertook to investigate theoretically the empire

¹ Contributed by Helen Smith.

² *Zauberwahn Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter und die Entstehung der grossen Hexenverfolgung*. By JOSEPH HANSEN. Pp. xv, 538. Price, 10 marks. München u. Leipzig, Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1900.

of demons, whose existence it had previously recognized, it was led by means of its own peculiar method to systematize the incoherent mass of demonology and make numerous concessions in favor of popular superstitions, which thus became part of its world-philosophy. It perceived, furthermore, a heretical element in the close relationship between sorcerers and demons, which was fantastically pictured by means of the ecclesiastical doctrine of the possibility of a contractual relation and sexual connection between human beings and Satan. Thus was the way prepared for the subsequent inquisition, when the ecclesiastical authorities secured the approval and collaboration of temporal powers, and the belief in witches and demons became so common and so deep-seated that neither catholicism nor protestantism, except in a few rare cases, disclaimed it.

The book is a fair example of the conscientiousness and thoroughness which so often characterize the historical investigations of German scholars.¹

COMBINING, IN A MANNER which seems so frequently to be the peculiar possession of French writers, all the charm of a polished literary style with the conscientious exactitude of a savant, M. H. Hauser's large, illustrated volume² on "Gold" leaves no aspect of the subject unconsidered. There are chapters on the chemistry of gold; its extraction; the gold production of California, Transvaal, Australia, the Klondike, the Guyanas and South America, Madagascar, India, Indo-China, Siberia and Hungary; the history of its industrial and artistic rôle and of its employment as money; and there is an interesting sketch of the legends which treat of its influence on mankind.

It appears that the Chinese, twenty-five centuries before the Christian era, made ornaments of gold. The laws of Manou established a relation between the value of gold and silver. The ancient Egyptians possessed numerous formulæ for gold amalgams which were transmitted mysteriously from generation to generation and regarded as magic. The early books of the Bible are full of allusions to gold. In the Homeric legends it is the precious metal *par excellence*. To capture the Golden Fleece, Jason and his companions ventured upon the tumultuous waves of the Euxine. According to the Germanic legends the "Rheingold" caused the outbreak of the conflict between the powers of the earth and those of the skies. Indeed, few subjects are older or more familiar. Yet what is gold? Can they who day by day

¹ Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, Bates College.

² *L'Or*. By H. HAUSER. Pp. 363. Paris: Librairie Nony et Cie, 1901.

handle immense quantities give an exact definition of it? Do they know its properties, wherein it differs from other metals, and whence it possesses that primacy which makes it rule the world? Do they know, above all, what a quantity of human labor, suffering and intelligence is incorporated in each yellow piece that passes through their hands, and how much effort has been necessary to extract that light, small coin from the quartz or sand in which it was hidden away? Do they know all the many employments of gold, its long and varied history and its rôle in life? This is what the author undertakes to tell us, plainly and interestingly, with the aid of a profusion of good illustrations.

The sections treating of the peculiar status of societies, like the Klondike, which owe their origin or chief impetus to the quest for gold, are of especial interest to the social psychologist.

PROFESSOR HELFFERICH'S recent lectures in Hamburg upon "Commercial Policy" have been published.¹ As the author tells us in his preface, he has not attempted to present anything new, but rather to popularize that which science has already given to the world. The purpose of the series of lectures is education, not agitation. Its scope is very comprehensive and is treated under the five-fold division of the importance of foreign commerce for modern economy, commercial systems and theories, the material (*mittel*) of commercial politics, Germany's commercial policy in the nineteenth century, and, finally, the actual questions of commercial politics. This last section, comprising three lectures on the present politico-commercial situation, the agrarian tariff duties and the problem of the industry state, is perhaps the most interesting and instructive. The writer is in sympathy with the modern tendencies in German economic development, and no recent writer has shown more clearly German agrarian absurdities. The style, lacking the involved sentences characteristic of so many German scientific writers, is pleasing, and the author has fulfilled in an eminent degree his task of presenting, in a popular yet scientific way, the present politico-commercial conditions of Germany.²

THE LATEST ISSUE of the J. M. Dent Company in the well-known series of *Temple Primers* is a carefully written treatment of "Prehis-

¹ *Handelspolitik: Vortraege gehalten in Hamburg im Winter 1900-01 im Auftrag der Hamburgischen Oberschulbehoerds.* By KARL VON HELFFERICH. Pp. 206. Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1901.

² Contributed by Professor George M. Fisk, Tome Institute, Maryland.

toric Archeology."¹ It is a primer only from the point of view of its brevity. In matter and manner it is full grown, scientific and accurate. There are chapters on man's place in nature, on the elements of human culture, on the early and late stone ages, on Aryans and Semites, on pile dwellings, on the earliest use of metals in various lands, on the age of bronze, and on the Hallstatt and La Tène periods.

The volume is well supplied with halftone illustrations of weapons and other objects of primitive workmanship. The book is well printed, though the type is rather small. Herr Hoerne has done a commendable service not only to students beginning in this field, but to laymen, and to busy men in other lines, in making this terse and excellent summary.

THE RECENT EXPANSION of our international relations has aroused a new interest in the treatises on International Law and Diplomacy.² The period since 1870 was singularly barren of scientific research in this field but it is evident that we are again entering upon a period of scientific activity along these lines. Since the last edition of Wheaton's International Law American readers have not had a comprehensive hand-book to which to refer for guidance in the complex international questions of the closing decades of the century.

The first edition of Professor Lawrence's work, which appeared in 1895, received a warm welcome in this country, particularly as his conclusions were based mainly on English and American precedents. Professor Lawrence was singularly happy in his selection of the concrete instances illustrative of general principles and avoided confusing his reader by a great array of historical facts. The same method characterizes the third edition, which has been revised, and to which an appendix has been added containing a discussion of "Annexation of International Obligations," "Recent Cases of Intervention," "Power over Territory Leased by One State to Another," "The Pacific Blockade of Crete," "The Hague Conference," and "The Doctrine of Contraband of War and Continuous Voyages."

The work is in the main a discussion of general principles. For the historical material upon which these principles rest, the reader must have recourse to such exhaustive treatises as Calvo, Holtzendorf and Fiore. As a hand-book on the subject, especially for those who are beginning the study of international law, no better guide can

¹ *Primitive Man*. By DR. MORIZ HOERNE. Translated by James H. Loewe. Pp. x, 135. Price, 40 cents. New York: Macmillan Company.

² *The Principles of International Law*. By T. J. LAWRENCE, M. A., LL. D. Third Edition, Revised. Pp. 681. Price, \$3.00. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1900.

be found than the work of Professor Lawrence. The judicious use of material, the lack of violent partisanship in any disputed question, and the concise and unequivocal form in which conclusions are presented, all contribute toward leaving with the reader a definite impression as to the present status of the rules governing international relations.¹

THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'HISTOIRE ET DE GÉOGRAPHIE UNIVERSELLE,² a series of handy little volumes, each treating of the geography and general characteristics of the people of a particular country, thus far includes three numbers. The first of these, on the Gauls, is due to perhaps the most competent authority upon the subject, Professor Lefèvre, of the Paris School of Anthropology. The third, an attractively written booklet on China, by M. de Pouvoirville, does not approach the task of describing the Celestial empire with the careless, know-it-all manner so customary in books on this subject—especially those written by mere travelers through that vast country inhabited by one-fourth of the earth's total population. The author carefully points out the insurmountable difficulties in the way of reaching a just appreciation or an adequate and comprehensive knowledge of Chinese character. Recent events, however, make it imperative not to be totally ignorant of Chinese affairs. After chapters on the geography of the country, its soil and the racial characteristics of its people, some account is given of its political and social organization, its religious and legal systems, a brief resumé of its history and art, and, finally, the story of its relations with European powers. There are to be three other supplementary volumes on China, written by the same author.

"RICHARD CROKER,"³ by Alfred Henry Lewis, is a novel production—novel in style, novel in manner of treatment. Croker characteristics are told in Croker anecdotes; Croker wisdom is given in Croker sayings. The whole book is written in easy narrative. Speaking of the principle of organization that has made him a leader the author casually quotes: "No combination can be made where all are dishonest and each one knows it. The first element of leadership is honesty—perfect honesty. The honest man will prevail because other men will trust him. A rascal can trust an honest man; and a rascal

¹ Contributed by Professor L. S. Rowe.

² Published by Schleicher Frères, Paris, 1900, et seq. No. 1, *Les Gaulois, Origines et Croyances*. By ANDRÉ LEFÈVRE. No. 2, *Notre Globe*. By E. SIEURIN. No. 3, *L'Empire du Milieu*. By A. DE POUVOIRVILLE. Price of each, 2 francs.

³ Pp. xvi, 372. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Life Publishing Company, 1901.

can't trust a rascal. You might take one hundred men, ten of them honest and ninety of them false, and put them away on an island. Come back in two months, and, for the reasons I've given you, you'll find the ten men dominating the rest." While this is consistently portrayed as his leading motive in dealing with friends, in parrying his enemies he is shown to be mendacious, cunning and careless of his honor. The Richard Croker that rules the destinies of New York is described as a man of excellent personal habits, of deep sympathy for his fellows, but politic to the last degree—one who walks at the head of a popular movement but who never sets himself against it. Though a somewhat faulty attempt is made at literary fling, the story as told is a fascinating one.

THE LATEST VOLUME in the "Periods of European History,"¹ treats of the two centuries in which mediæval conditions came to an end and the states of modern Europe became prominent. It is the most useful volume in the series because it is the first successful attempt in English to give an accurate and concise account of the important events during this period, in all the different countries of Europe. The task is one of extreme difficulty, as no continuous line of evolution can be followed, no thread of unity can be detected. The chapters on "The Hanseatic League" and the "Renaissance in Italy" are especially readable; the latter is possibly the best in the book. The nineteen genealogical tables are very helpful.²

DR. MALTBIE'S work as editor of the report of the Civic Federation of Chicago upon "The Street Railways of Chicago," gives to the public the best exposé of American street railway finance now extant. The publication is a timely one. It serves well the citizens of Chicago at a time when the whole franchise question comes before them for settlement. It gives a broader bearing on problems that must be solved by other cities where the street railway plays an important part in municipal life.³

THIS NEAT LITTLE volume on the French Revolution⁴ is intended, so the author states in his preface, for the general reader. It is a revised edition of the work published by the Chautauqua Press in 1900. which was based on a series of lectures given by Professor Mathews.

¹ *The Close of the Middle Ages, 1277-1494.* By R. LODGE, M. A. Pp. xi, 570. Price, \$1.75. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

² Contributed by Dana C. Munro.

³ Reprinted from "Municipal Affairs." Pp. 160.

⁴ *The French Revolution.* By SHAILER MATHEWS. 297 pp. Price, \$1.25. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901.

The subject is divided into four periods: (1) *France at the Outbreak of the Revolution*; (2) *The Beginnings of the Revolution*; (3) *The Attempt at Constitutional Monarchy*; (4) *The Republic*. This comprises a study of the development of the Revolution from its origin in the pre-revolutionary conditions in France to the return to constitutional government after the fall of Robespierre on the ninth Thermidor. Nothing new or original, either in the material or the method of treatment, is presented, but the story of the great Revolution is told in an interesting fashion, and as it is based upon good authorities, the volume deserves a place among the secondary histories of the Revolution designed for the general reader.

"MARYLAND AS A PROPRIETARY PROVINCE,"¹ was presented by Newton D. Mereness as a doctor's thesis to the faculty of Columbia University. It is the most exhaustive history of the political side of the provincial life of that state that has yet been written. The materials have been drawn from original sources with much care and industry, and woven into an interesting story, covering the successive revolutions and political changes that took place prior to the revolt against British authority.

THE GENERAL TENDENCY manifested by Mr. J. B. Morman's recent volume on Social Progress² may be summed up thus in the author's own words: "Viewed retrospectively in the light of history it can be said without fear of contradiction that, so far as the advancement of civilization is concerned, individualism has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Individualism as a social system possesses no power of promoting the advance of civilization." "The forces of progressive civilization have been intelligence and will, the universal characteristics of sentient beings, and there can be no hope for the welfare and happiness of the race except in the development and rational manifestation of these natural powers. Therefore, the problem before society is how to put these forces in operation so that the results will be for the good of the whole people rather than for any particular class. . . . What is needed is such a system that popular representatives *must* do the people's will in spite of selfish traits of character. . . . The struggle of the people to secure amendments to the constitution which shall include all their social

¹ Pp. 530+20. Price, \$3.00. New York: Macmillan Company, 1901.

² *The Principles of Social Progress. A Study of Civilization.* By JAMES BALE MORMAN, A. B. Pp. viii, 240. Price, 50 cents. Rochester, N. Y.: E. Dartow & Co., 1901.

rights will be a manifestation of an intelligent, vigorous political life, and will mark the beginning of a new era in national welfare and social evolution." Professor Morman then sets forth the changes necessary to inaugurate a new period of social progress. As the book touches upon a host of mooted problems, almost every page of it is open to objection, notably the sections which discuss economic questions. The author maintains, for example, that "the hour-unit of productive labor is the only rational and universal basis of value."

THE CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL SCIENCE RECENTLY made by the South African Native Races Committee in *The Natives of South Africa*,¹ a book of 360 pages, is largely based on information gained by means of private correspondence. The committee enlisted the co-operation of men and women scattered throughout the British possessions and plied questions bearing on all of the main relations of native and foreign populations. Not only have the committee given an admirable digest of information received concerning native habits, local administration, taxation, apprenticeship, intemperance, the franchise, etc., but an appendix contains classified briefs and excerpts from the letters themselves. By such methods much has been added to the already voluminous literature on the subject.

THE PHILIPPINES, THE WAR AND THE PEOPLE² is a record of contemporary events—a clearly written and interesting series of letters originally contributed to the *New York Evening Post*. In some respects these letters gain in the preservation of their original form. The reader does not expect ethnological and historical precision and fullness. The correspondent on the field has no leisure for minute investigation; his work is of enduring value in proportion to his keenness of observation and balance of judgment in respect of the things he himself has witnessed.

In these essentials the book before us is particularly strong. The author is a man of long commercial experience and prone to take the hard-headed and prosaic view in all cases. He is a man from whom the truth may be expected. Possibly, now that the colonial fever at home has been somewhat checked by contact with cold fact, the candid treatment here given may receive its due of attention and reflection.

¹ Price, 12s. Published by John Murray, Albemarle street, London, 1901.

² By ALBERT G. ROBINSON. Pp. 407. Price, \$2.00. New York: McClure, Phillips and Company, 1901.

Robinson recognizes, as few other Americans have, the tremendous issues involved in the treatment of the religious orders in the Philippines. He asserts that the orders were the real authority when Spain was lamely wielding the nominal power, and that the revolutions of the last decades have been rebellions against the religious rather than the purely political oppression. The religious orders exercised their tyranny by reason of their possession of political power; of this power the Philippine Republic deprived them from the first days of its existence as a government; under the rule of the United States, however, the friars again hope, and not without reason, for reinstatement.

The author adds another chapter to the already published accounts of the remarkable news-censorship in vogue during the Otis period. The commercial possibilities of the islands are treated in some detail. Along with other grave questions, that of tropical labor appears as threatening and as unsolved as ever. For himself, Robinson believes the employment of Chinese labor to be the only practical solution, although he recognizes the reasonableness of the stock objections to this system.

In general, what is most to be feared in the present is the hankering of the volunteer after a "scrap"—regulars have some serious comprehension of what war means, but volunteers have enlisted for a fight and must force a brush of some kind in order to have stories to tell at home. The danger for the future lies in the inexperience and intolerance of the American toward "lower races," and in a defective colonial service. The author finds a strong resemblance between the Moro question in the Philippines and the Indian question as it has existed in the United States in the past.¹

WHEN A BRITISH MUNICIPALITY wishes to decrease the number of saloons within its limits, or to abolish some particular licensed house, it cannot simply withhold licenses, but must purchase the franchise or expectancy. The law does not give premises a perpetual license, but public custom does, and the obtainer of a license can immediately capitalize it in perpetuity. "The Place of Compensation in Temperance Reform"² is a careful, scholarly presentation of the subject in its legal and economic aspects. Seven schemes for compensation are presented, together with opinions by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Chamberlain, Professor Sedgwick and the authors of the seven schemes, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Goschen, Lord Peel, the Royal Commission, etc.

¹ Contributed by Dr. Albert G. Keller, Yale University.

² By C. F. SANGER, M. A. Pp. 135. Price, 2s. 6d. London: Published by P. S. King & Son, 1901.

The conclusion is that compensation should be given when a license is revoked, unless the holder has violated the law, and thus deprived himself of any rights in the license. The author suggests a compromise measure "which would enable justice to be done without taxing the exchequer or preventing any other and more radical reforms," viz., the confiscation of a reversionary interest after thirty years. That is, he proposes that the legislature enact that at the end of thirty years all licenses then existing should vest in local bodies, in philanthropic public companies or in the state. Thus the amount of present injury to license holders would be comparatively small, and the gain to the state thirty years hence very great.¹

AN INTERESTING ATTEMPT to popularize the latest results of scientific research² in all the fields of human knowledge, in a series of neat little volumes forming an illustrated popular encyclopædia, has recently been inaugurated by a Paris publishing house. Of the twenty-five volumes which have thus far made their appearance, four are of more or less interest to the sociologist. Number five of the collection on the Prehistorics of France gives in a somewhat dramatic form an account of the primary, secondary and tertiary periods of terrestrial evolution. Number twelve, an ardent plea for universal peace, with chapters on the causes and consequences of wars, contains bibliography of anti-war literature which will doubtless be of value to any one who wants to keep track of the peace movement. The chapters on international arbitration contain a clear presentation of the argument in favor of this scheme for avoiding wars. M. Michaud, in number thirteen of the collection, points out the historical value of legends and makes an attempt to show the relation between the nature of a people and the peculiar form of its characteristic legends, which represent the product of its imagination and furnish a valuable clue to the *Volksgeist*. Number twenty-two, finally, gives a clear and quite comprehensive account of practical attempts at co-operation, beginning with the Rochdale Pioneers, and embracing a great number of co-operative societies of consumption, distribution, production, as well as building societies, popular banks and profit-sharing. The history, advantages and difficulties of these various varieties of co-operation are pointed out, but the book is throughout eulogistic in

¹ Contributed by Dr. William H. Allen, Jersey City.

² *Les Livres d'Or de la Science*. Paris: Schleicher Frères. No. 5, *La Préhistoire de la France*. By STÉPHANE SERVANT. Pp. 192. Price, 1 fr. 50. No. 12, *Les Guerres et la Paix*. By CHARLES RICHET. Pp. 192. Price, 1 fr. 50. No. 13, *Les Grandes Légendes de l'Humanité*. By L. MICHAUD D'HUMIAC. Pp. 188. Price, 1 fr. 50. No. 22, *La Coopération*. By A. D. BANCEL. Pp. 251. Price, 1 fr. 50.

its tone. It would be scarcely possible, however, to find a better brief account of the whole subject, or one so full of up-to-date facts.

A WIDE CIRCLE of readers will welcome a recent issue of the collected essays of Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace.¹ The series consists of essays contributed to various magazines during the thirty-five years ending 1899, and includes a wide range of subjects from geology to the future life. There are six papers on earth studies, and others dealing with descriptive zoology, plant and animal distribution, the theory of evolution, anthropology, education, politics, economics, ethics and sociology.

In all this range of topics there is the treatment of a scholar with wide interests and sane ideas, simple, incisive and convincing in statement, and eminently fair and generous in criticism of opponents. All the essays have been revised, and stand as the author's present point of view in the various problems treated.

In the first essay, on Inaccessible Valleys, the author shows himself a loyal follower of Lyell, and stands out against Professor J. D. Whitney and other recent supporters of cataclysmic origin for certain valleys. The problem of the Cox and Grose valleys in N. S. Wales, he properly interprets. It would now be a simple problem to a trained physiographer—a case of an inner lowland, with canyon across the cuesta, paralleled somewhat broadly, in Texas by the Upper Pecos.

In the chapters on Evolution, the author has modestly refrained from any mention of his own part in the establishment of the theory of Natural Selection, and supports and interprets Darwin. He sides with Weismann in the disbelief in the inheritance of acquired characters. He is, of course, against Lamarck and on the side of Darwin in his appreciation of indefinite, spontaneous variation, and the retention of useful characters in the origin of specific differences.

Dr. Wallace shows with ample illustration, good ground for his belief in a Caucasian origin for Polynesians, thus running counter to Quatrefages.

In his papers touching social matters, the author is as vigorous as ever in his defence of the nationalization of land, and is a warm advocate of Mr. Bellamy as to a possible future organization of society, where "equality of opportunity" will be the chief maxim.²

¹ *Studies, Scientific and Social*. By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE. Two volumes, 12mo, pp. xv, 532 and viii, 535. Price, \$5.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

² Contributed by Dr. J. Paul Goode.

REVIEWS.

A Treatise on the Rights and Privileges Guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. By the Hon. HENRY BRANNON, Justice of the Supreme Court of West Virginia. Pp. 562. W. H. Anderson & Co., Cincinnati, 1901.

The emphasis which is being laid upon the discussion of individual rights in all recent treatises on constitutional law is strikingly illustrated by the fact that during the last twelve months two bulky and exhaustive works on the Fourteenth Amendment have appeared. Compared with Mr. Guthrie's work upon the Amendment, that of Judge Brannon seems at once more exhaustive and more systematic.

The author has evidently examined exhaustively the great mass of decisions bearing directly and indirectly on the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment. It is the most comprehensive treatment of the subject that has yet appeared, and is written with a clearness of style and vigor of expression which is both refreshing and inspiring.

The only chapter of the work which will give rise to marked differences of opinion is that treating of the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States. Justice Brannon evidently regards the Slaughter House Cases as containing the most satisfactory interpretation of the distinction between the privileges and immunities of United States citizenship and those of state citizenship. The reader of the work is not informed with the care and detail which characterize other chapters, that a wide and irreconcilable difference separated the majority from the minority opinion in these cases, and that a considerable body of eminent jurists were and are still of opinion that the line of division between the two classes of citizenship as drawn by the Supreme Court of the United States not only nullified, at least in part, the intention of the framers of the amendment and of all those who supported it, but also deprived the federal government of powers which had been one of the issues of the Civil War. As Burgess has so clearly pointed out, the Slaughter House Cases checked the movement towards the nationalization of civil liberty, and to that extent deprived the country of the logical results of the great slavery conflict. It is to be hoped that in another edition of the work Justice Brannon will rewrite the chapter relating to the subject of the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, placing the whole subject before the reader in the light of the circumstances which made the Fourteenth Amendment imperatively necessary.

It may be of some interest to point out that the author has misread the Treaty of Paris. On page thirty-nine we find the following: "The Treaty of Paris between the United States and Spain, closing the

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Spanish-American War, provides that all persons born in the Spanish peninsula, that is, in Spain, resident in the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, who should elect to continue to reside in those islands, after a certain time should be deemed citizens of the United States and entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States; but there is no such provision as to the natives of those islands."

As a matter of fact, the Peace Commissioners were extremely careful not to grant United States citizenship to anyone. The provisions relating to nationality were framed with great care and with the evident intention of avoiding the question of citizenship. Article nine of the treaty—to which Justice Brannon evidently refers—merely provides that Spanish subjects, natives of the Peninsula, who have not made the declaration preserving allegiance to Spain within a year from the ratification of the treaty "*shall be held to have renounced it and to have adopted the nationality of the territory in which they may reside.*" This is very different from saying that they are to be deemed citizens of the United States. The legislation of Congress for Porto Rico has confirmed this distinction.

The chapters relating to the process of law and the equal protection of the laws are probably the most important of the book, and for these both the members of the legal profession and the laymen are under a deep obligation to the author.

L. S. ROWE.

San Juan, Porto Rico.

Municipal Sanitation in the United States. By CHARLES V. CHAPIN, M. D., Superintendent of Health of the City of Providence. Pp. viii, 970. The Providence Press, 1901.

This elaborate work is the result of several years of study and practice by one whose success as health officer and as lecturer on hygiene, eminently qualifies him to present this pioneer work on American municipal sanitation. It is not intended as a treatise on the principles of sanitation, but is rather a compendium of sanitary practice. Here one can find the high and low water marks of American sanitary administration. While the author has kept his own views in the background, for the most part, yet the methods employed by various municipalities to register vital statistics, abate and prevent nuisances, protect water and food sources, cleanse streets and control contagion are so clearly explained that the reader could hardly fail to select the sounder method. Health officers will find these comparative exhibits to be of great assistance in the conduct of their practical work.

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At the present time comparatively few health officers seem to appreciate the truth of the author's emphatic statement: "Vital statistics is the firm basis on which the whole structure of sanitary science and sanitary practice must rest." The book contains chapters on sanitary organization, registration of vital statistics, nuisances, specific nuisances, plumbing, water, ice and sewers, food, communicable diseases, refuse disposal and miscellaneous sanitary work. The chapter on refuse disposal will illustrate the author's method and indicate to what extent the book can serve the mayor, councilman or taxpayer as well as the health officer. It records the practice of one hundred cities with reference to the collection and disposal of garbage and waste, the frequency of collection, the time of removal and whether done by city employees, by contract or by licensed scavengers, how disposed of, whether on land, in water, by feeding to animals, by reduction or cremation, etc., together with a description of these processes and an estimate of the advantages of each method. Similarly the disposal of dry and mixed refuse, night soil, grease and bones and finally street cleaning are discussed.

The book is not without its defects in emphasis, selection of data, method of arrangement and style of presentation, but as a pioneer work it deserves the highest commendation.

Jersey City.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

Les Grandes Routes des Peuples. Essai de Géographie sociale. Comment la Route crée le Type social. I. Les Routes de l'Antiquité.

By E. DEMOLINS. Pp. xii, 462. Price, 3 fr. 50. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1901.

M. Edmond Demolins delights in startling propositions, clearly and boldly formulated. His volume of a few years ago, entitled "To What is the Superiority of the Anglo-Saxons Due?" was of a nature, both in title and contents, to arouse the vanity and curiosity of his countrymen. Its argumentative basis, despite a number of exaggerations and a manifest tendency to simplify the central problem of the book by overlooking disturbing facts, was well worth serious consideration. The last book published by the same author, "How Routes Create the Social Type," possesses the same qualities of perspicacity and audacity. There is nothing equivocal in the author's thesis.

There exists—such is the trend of M. Demolins' argument—an infinite variety of populations on the earth's surface. What is the cause of this variety? The usual reply is: the difference of races. But the race explains nothing, for it still remains to be determined what has produced the diversity of races. The race is not a cause, but a consequence. The primary and decisive cause of the diversity of peoples

and the diversity of races is *the routes which they have followed*. The route creates the race and the social type, transforming in a peculiar way the people which traverses it. Unconsciously, gradually but fatally, routes have fashioned the Tartar-Mongolian type, the Esquimaux type, the Red Skin type, the Indian type, or the Negro type. It is useless to protest against this, for we are, declares M. Demolins, in the presence of a well-established law.

It was not a matter of indifference to enter upon the routes of the deserts of Arabia and Sahara, or that of southern and eastern Asia; for these routes produced the Arabian type, the Assyrian and Egyptian type, or the types of the Mede, Persian, Chinese, Japanese and Hindoo. The Mediterranean route created the Phœnician, the Carthaginian, the Greek and the Roman, while the routes of Central Europe created the Celts and Germans. The northernmost European route produced exactly the Finnish type; that of the great Russian plains determined the North-Slavonic type; and the southern mountains gave rise to the South-Slavonic type.

In Western Europe, the Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, French, German, Greek, Italian, Spanish types are likewise the result of the routes upon which our ancestors were dispersed while on the way to their present habitat. The diversity of these routes alone explains the diversity of occidental peoples and what we are accustomed to call the national genius of each of them. Modify any one of these routes, lower it or raise it, cause it to bring forth different products, thus changing the form and nature of labor, and you will have modified the social type and produced a different race.

M. Demolins goes even further than this. He maintains that if the history of mankind were to begin anew, and the surface of the globe remained the same, history would repeat itself in its main lines. There would, of course, be some secondary differences—in political revolutions, for example, to which, he declares, we attach far too much importance. But the same routes would reproduce the same social types and stamp them with the same essential characteristics. If all this is true, as M. Demolins asserts, his remark is equally true that this explanation of matters singularly modifies our conception of geography and history. Geography ceases to be an arid nomenclature or a more or less picturesque tableau of the earth's divisions. It explains the nature and the social rôle of these diverse routes, and consequently the origin of diverse races. It thus becomes the primordial factor in the constitution of human societies. History, on the other hand, ceases to be the story of events often unexplained and inexplicable. It is illuminated by a new light, co-ordinated and ele-

vated to the rank of the highest and most exact philosophy. It becomes a reliable life guide.

The author's doctrine which we have above outlined, as far as possible, in his own words, is supported by a cleverly marshalled collection of facts, divided into three groups or books. The first of these concerns the "Types without a History," for example the pastoral, patriarchal, conservative people of the steppes; the second treats of the "Ancient Types of the Orient," with a more complicated society due to the need for systematic, voluntary production, and a certain division of labor; and the third discusses the "Ancient Types of the Occident" as formed by the routes of the Mediterranean Sea, and especially the configuration of the littoral.

It is evident that M. Demolins employs the word route in a wide sense—almost identical with physical environment as a whole. His social doctrine belongs to the same class as Karl Marx's, according to which the method of economic production determines all the other features of society; or as Professor Bücher's, according to which the manner, means and extent of economic exchange is the determinative cause of social structure, political organization, etc.; or even as Benjamin Kidd's thesis that religion is the most essential factor of social evolution. But M. Demolins' doctrine is more fundamental than all of these; it goes behind them and attacks the problem of social causality at its very root. We are justified, however, in asking whether any single causal element, no matter how important it may be or how broadly we have sought to define it, is sufficient to explain every trait of a society's economic, political, æsthetic and religious organization. Indeed, it is more than likely that a judicious combination and synthesis of these many "unique" causes would approach more closely to the truth than any one of them alone.

We refrain from any detailed examination of the facts adduced by M. Demolins, until the publication of the forthcoming second volume treating of modern routes.

C. W. A. VEDRITZ.

Bates College.

The Practice of Charity. By E. T. DEVINE. Pp. 186. Price, 65c. New York: Lentilhon & Co., 1901.

Mr. E. T. Devine's work is one of a series of hand-books for practical workers in charity and philanthropy, edited by S. M. Jackson, Professor of Church History in the New York University. Half a dozen volumes have already been published in the series, and others

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are announced. They appear to have no special sequence or relation to each other, and as a series lack method and arrangement. Mr. Devine has, however, condensed in a crisp yet lucid manner, the whole rationale of charitable work. He has studied the problem of charity academically, from the standpoint of a trained economist, and has been able to add the practical knowledge of the experienced worker to the wisdom of a scholar. The book is a safe guide to put in the hands of practical workers who have enough intelligence to fit them for charitable work, and it should be required as a text-book by civil service examiners, in testing the fitness of applicants for public charitable or correctional positions. The inter-relation of public and private charitable agencies and the necessity for their co-operation are fittingly emphasized in the Introduction. The chapter on the Defence of Charity is clear and convincing. The author shows that charity can properly justify itself in the social sense as an educational agency. "Charity reasonably bestowed does not perpetuate the unfit, but transforms the unfit into that which may profitably survive." In chapter three, on Those Who Need Help, he shows that we are all, in varying degrees, beneficiaries, while we may all be benefactors. The problems involved in wise charitable work are skillfully suggested, and the various phases of the complex work with and for the poor are ably outlined. The chapter on Substitutes for Charity deals with such agencies as employment bureaus, day nurseries, savings banks and other departments of preventive and constructive work, which are of good service in rendering charity, in its lower forms, unnecessary. While the title of this chapter is not entirely satisfactory, no alternative readily suggests itself.

The chapter on Organized Charity is particularly practical and we note with satisfaction Mr. Devine's radical definition and conception of the scope of this term. His comments on "the very respectable citizens who have carelessly allowed their names to be used in connection with enterprises of which they know little or nothing," ought to be widely published. The author's insistence upon the importance of the constructive and positive sides of the work of Charity Organization Societies will also commend itself to all those who have had the trying experience of starting such societies in the face of ignorance and prejudice. Those who are not experienced in such work will be surprised to learn that Charity Organization Societies have increased the proportion of their work that is done by unpaid volunteer workers. Mr. Devine lays stress upon the particular value of personal friendship in dealing with the poor, and the necessity of helping them to create a better home environment. He shows that "it is a deceptive philosophy that turns the back upon the

parent as hopeless, and proposes to save the children separately." The friendly visitor needs direction, however, and the author shows that "the collective wisdom of even a small group of earnest workers is likely to exceed that of any of its individual members." The chapter on the Church and Charity is very suggestive, though it is handled briefly, as the publishers intend to devote another volume to this subject especially. It is made clear that the public schools share the task of the educational process with the family and the church, and the "practical life of the streets," and that charity rightly understood is "superdenominational." The importance of trained service in charitable work and the dignity of the new profession of philanthropy are discussed in an admirable manner. His reference to Penology, in this connection, is particularly apt: "Guards and attendants in charge of prisoners require instruction in certain matters on which instruction can be given only within the walls of the particular prison in which their duty is to be performed. But the fundamental principles of justice, the reasons for longer and shorter sentences, the effect of imprisonment upon character, the result of criminal association, the treatment of ex-convicts, the theory of indeterminate sentences, the difference between the treatment of convicted and unconvicted prisoners, the care of prison hospital patients, of insane prisoners, and of juvenile offenders, offer interesting and profitable fields of study, in which those who are preparing to enter prison administration might work side by side with charity organization and child-saving agents. In England there are already four schools, two each for men and women, for the training of prison wardens."

As a hand-book one is impressed with the self-restraint which the author has shown in the elimination of allied topics of undoubted interest, but which are not essential to his exposition. One misses, however, any adequate reference to almshouses and other public charitable institutions, and the problems involved in the state control or supervision of public charities and corrections. The housing problem of the poor is barely touched upon, and there is absolutely nothing to indicate the character of forward movements in foreign countries. Ten pages are devoted to a constitution of a Charity Organization Society, which might be used to better purpose in extending the "Illustrative Problems," which the author has limited exclusively to the cases of a charity organization society.

On the whole, this little volume is illuminating and inspiring, and its possible faults of omission are probably due to limitations imposed by the publishers. We doubt, however, whether many of the "public officials responsible for the relief of the poor," who are included among the persons for whom it is intended, can be reached through

so scholarly a medium. Perhaps this is somewhat hypercritical, as they are probably beyond the sphere of any academic influence.

Bayonne, N. J.

HUGH F. FOX.

Der Ursprung des Zunftwesens und die älteren Handwerkerverbände des Mittelalters. By RUDOLPH EBERSTADT. Pp. 201. Price, 5 M. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1900.

The drastic criticisms by German writers upon Eberstadt's *Fraternitas und Magisterium* (Schmoller's *Staats und Socialwissenschaftlichen Forschungen*, xv, 2, 1897), give the present volume an unusual interest, for the subjects are closely akin.

Both from the institution of the *Magisterium* and from the *Fraternitas* Eberstadt claims there is a direct evolution into the guilds, an evolution which can be clearly traced in the sources. Hence it is in the *Magisterium* and the *Fraternitas* that he finds the origin of the guilds. The evolution proceeded step by step. The fraternities whose objects were at first purely religious and whose membership comprised men of all crafts and classes, gradually changed their character; persons of similar occupation and social standing naturally drew together into the same fraternity. This change was largely effected by the middle of the twelfth century. But the fraternities had not yet attained to the place of guilds. Their organization was extremely loose, and they had no status based on public right. During the latter half of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth century, however, one after another of the fraternities attained legal existence before the civil authorities and were invested with corporate rights and obligations. Thus it happened that the old fraternities were transformed into the guilds of the Middle Ages, in which the industrial and economic features superseded the religious and social. The basis for the evolution in the case of the *Magisterium* is found in the exercise of the monopoly of working or trading in a particular branch of industry (*Zunftzwang*).

It is the emphasis upon this intimate relation of the guilds with the institutions that immediately preceded them, that distinguishes the theory advanced by Eberstadt. Such an emphasis brings out the continuity of historic institutions, and is diametrically opposed to the theory of Von Belon and other authors who find the origin of the guilds entirely in the mediaeval tendency toward organization (einem lebhaften Associationstrieb) or in the monopoly privilege (*Zunftzwang*).

A marked feature of the book is its controversial character. It is polemic from beginning to end. The views of different writers on the origin of the guilds are carefully examined. The method is thoroughly

scientific, the conclusions reached being always based upon a careful study of the historic evidence. The common practice even among authors of standing, of resting many of their arguments concerning craft guilds on documentary sources in which there is no other evidence that guilds are meant than the mere mention of artisans, comes in for drastic criticism.

W. E. LINGELBACH.

University of Pennsylvania.

A History of Modern Philosophy. A Sketch of the History of Philosophy from the Close of the Renaissance to Our Own Day. By DR. HARALD HÖFFDING, Professor at the University of Copenhagen. Translated from the German edition by B. E. Meyer. Vol. I, pp. xviii, 532; Vol. II, pp. x, 600. London: Macmillan & Co., 1900.

This admirable piece of work first written in Danish and later translated into German has been in its English form for a little more than a year. Even in English it is a notable work in spite of the inaccuracies and infelicities of the translation; to these Professor Frank Thilly has called attention in the *Philosophical Review* for July, 1900.

The characteristic strength of this sketch of modern philosophy is its thoroughgoing contemporariness. Although the year 1880 was selected as the limit of time beyond which this sketch should not be carried, it is evident as one surveys its spirit and scope that it is the work of a student who appreciates the intensity, boldness, and breadth of philosophical thought in Europe and America since 1880, the work of a student who is himself master of the newer aspects of psychology and ethics.

To Professor Höffding the problems of philosophy have their roots in the theoretical and practical relations in which man stands to the universe of which he is a part (II, 563) and this double interest of philosophy leads him to give extended notice to many whose names do not appear ordinarily, or occupy only an unimportant place, in modern text books of philosophy; it leads him to give much more than the usual attention to speculative thought in ethics and politics.

Philosophical investigation according to Höffding centres in four great problems: the problem of knowledge, the problem of existence, the problem of evaluation, and the problem of consciousness. It is the third of these problems that takes him into the domain of ethics and consequently by a wider synthesis into politics and religion. The student of political and social science finds something like an adequate attention bestowed upon the development of speculative thought regarding the nature of the state and of social institutions. The second volume contains a masterly account (Book IX) of the develop-

ment of the positive philosophy, wherein Comte, Mill, Darwin and Spencer receive systematic treatment.

Höfding's exposition of the rise of the positive philosophy is marked by a profound appreciation of its connection with the rise of the scientific spirit and the empirical and inductive methods of inquiry. Scientists, publicists and essayists, Kepler, Galileo, Newton, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Lessing, Herder, Ludwig Feuerbach, Saint Simon, Coleridge, Carlyle and many others take their place by the side of those speculative thinkers on whom the world long looked as the only philosophers.

In the very beginning of this sketch, in the first volume, the reader is impressed with the vigor and freshness, the modernness of the point of view, as he makes his acquaintance with Pomponazzi and Machiavelli, Montaigne and Charron. The early exponents of the theory of natural right have received painstaking attention. Neils Hemmingesen, *De lege naturae apodictica methodus*, 1565, and Johannes Althusius, *Politica methodice digesta atque exemplis sacris et profanis illustrata*, 1603, each receives careful though brief treatment as well as Jean Bodin and Hugo Grotius. Of course the political philosophy of Hobbes, Spinoza and Locke is discussed. An altogether unusual prominence is given to Adam Smith.

The student of political and social science may well be urged to read a work like this by Höfding, not only for what he will find here directly concerning the historical development of these sciences, but also for the aid it will give him in co-ordinating the problems of social and political philosophy with the more general problems of philosophy.

ISAAC A. LOOS.

The State University of Iowa.

The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D. Pp. 463. Price, \$2.25. Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co., 1901.

A complete history of the famous case of the Moriscos is now at last offered to the English-speaking public. The name of the author, whose various studies of mediæval thought and faith, assign to him a unique place among American historians, suffices to create a favorable attitude toward this work, and a careful examination will only confirm the expectation of meeting with ripe scholarship and sound judgment. It is a documentary history in the fullest sense of the word, its raw material being state papers, the minutes and correspondence of the Inquisition, and other kinds of first-hand evidence. The author sees his task in the history of the growth of Spanish intol-

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erance, and presents with the painstaking fullness of a constitutional lawyer the hideous and ruinous policy of obligatory conversion to the last desperate step of a defeated statesmanship—expulsion. He is very much more hopeful than writers on this period have generally been about the possibility of the Morisco problem having been solved by a broad religious tolerance, but he makes out a good case for himself with the picture he unfolds of race harmony in Castile and Aragon before the time of Isabella and Ximenes. Here, as elsewhere, the ministers of the religion of love turned the scale. It was the Church that had regularly through decades inculcated intolerance with threats of penalties and excommunication, before a people naturally inclined to forbearance let its milk of human kindness turn to acid. Then, the desire for religious uniformity having gradually sunk into the blood, a passionate race made it the ideal to which it sacrificed every other aspiration of existence.

The relation of the expulsion to the general fact of Spanish economic decay is discussed with calm breadth in Chapter XI. In tabulating the opinions of present-day Spaniards it is curious to observe how the old notion of religious uniformity still clouds unconsciously the judgment of men who would repudiate vehemently the charge of religious intolerance. Lea delivers his final opinion in these words: "The decadence of Spain was not caused merely by the loss of population in banishing Jews and Moriscos, for that loss would easily have been made up. It was that the Jews and Moriscos were economically the most valuable of its inhabitants, whose industry in great part supported the rest" (p. 400).

It is impossible to give in a few words an idea of the amount of evidence collected in this book. As the reader turns its leaves the comfortable feeling takes possession of him that this is final. However, the very thoroughness of treatment involves at least one evil consequence: the reader is persuaded at times that he is handling a volume of law reports, and becomes convinced that at this rate history must get completely out of touch with literature.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

Chicago.

The American Workman. By PROFESSOR E. LEVASSEUR, of the College of France. Translated from the French by Thomas S. Adams, Ph.D. Edited by Theodore Marburg. Pp. xx, 517. Price, \$3.00. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1900.

American students of the labor question will welcome in the present convenient form the results of Professor Levasseur's very valuable investigations of labor conditions in the United States. As the readers

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of the ANNALS will recall, the author visited the United States at two different periods for the purpose of collecting material on the subject, and of personally investigating the situation here. His first visit was in 1876, during the Centennial Exposition; the second in 1893, during the Columbian Exposition. On both occasions he made personal visits to numerous factories and workshops and to workingmen's homes in different parts of the country, and made the acquaintance of manufacturers, economists and statisticians, who gave him valuable assistance in securing data. After returning to France from his second visit Professor Levasseur spent some four years in preparing the results of his investigations for the press, and in 1898 he published in two large volumes of nearly 1,200 pages the well-known work, *L'Ouvrier Américain*. These two volumes have now been condensed, in the American edition, into one volume of a little less than half the number of pages in the original edition. The work of condensing has been wisely done, the chief omissions being the elaboration of certain phases of the subject, the gist of which is given in an excellent resumé, in the closing chapter, of the entire ground covered in the French edition. The most essential parts are retained, either in full or in outline; and in every case where it was convenient to do so the translator has brought statistical as well as some other information down to date. So that in this particular the present edition is more valuable than the earlier one.

A brief survey of the present volume will be of interest. The chapters are ten in number and treat the following subjects: The progress of American industry in the last fifty years; the productivity of labor and machinery; labor laws and trade regulations; organizations of labor; the strike; wages of men; wages of women and children; factors determining nominal wages; real wages and workmen's budgets; present conditions and future prospects. The first chapter is a study of the whole industrial field and serves as an introduction to the special study of the condition of the laborer. The author draws a vivid and accurate picture of the prodigious economic growth of the country in the half century since 1850. Agriculture, the extractive industries and manufactures have all developed with unprecedented rapidity—a development which may be accounted for by the fact that we were in possession of great domains rich in cultivable lands and mineral deposits, which were thrown open to endless numbers of immigrants equipped with all the resources of civilization; and by the further and most important fact of the application of machinery to all kinds of economic activity. A logical result of this wide application of machinery is that the number of laborers has not increased as rapidly as production, although the increase has been great, both absolutely

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and as compared with the whole population, the number of laborers engaged in manufacturing industries, for instance, being, in 1850, only four per cent of the entire population, while in 1890 they had increased to seven and one-half per cent. It is the relation of the laborer to the machinery which has brought about such a rapid development of the natural resources of the country, and his relation to the consequent increase in production that constitutes much of the discussion in several of the succeeding chapters, and in preparation for which the first chapter furnishes an excellent background.

The chapter on the productivity of labor and machinery is partly historical, partly analytical. The growth of various manufacturing interests and the movement toward concentration are described; and the author's conclusion in this connection is, that in respect to machinery and large manufacturing plants the United States is in advance of the world, not even excepting England. To anticipate the author's chapters on wages, the effect upon the workman of such an extensive use of machinery is found to be beneficial. In the more rapid increase in production as compared with that in the number of laborers is found the chief cause and explanation of rising wages, both nominal and real, during the last fifty years; and it is this greater productivity in the United States as compared with that in Europe, where machinery has not been so extensively introduced, that accounts largely for the difference in wages in the two countries. But the higher the rate of wages, the greater the inducement for employers to introduce labor-saving machinery, or as one might say from another point of view, larger product-producing machinery; for not only has machinery not permanently displaced labor, but it has given increased employment to labor, as is shown by the fact that a larger proportion of our population were laborers in 1890 than in 1850. Increased production must mean increased consumption; and increased consumption stimulates production. Or as Professor Levasseur well says: "As to wages, the higher the rate, the more economy in substituting machinery for labor; and again, the greater the productivity of machinery, the higher the possible range of wages."

So much may suffice to show the general view which the author takes of the situation. He is strongly optimistic. And yet he does not ignore the factors in the problem which impede the progress of the workman, such as the immigration of cheaper labor from Europe. In this connection it may be pointed out that he makes a well-deserved criticism of those who argue for protective tariffs to maintain high wages, and at the same time introduce cheap foreign labor to debase wages.

There is one point on which we may differ with the author, namely,

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as regards what he says of the attitude of the workmen toward compulsory arbitration as a method of settling differences between themselves and their employers. This method, the author states, "is repugnant to employers, because in the substitution of the public authority for the free disposition of the means of production by their owners they see an element of confiscation; but for this very reason it constitutes one of the most cherished ideals of the labor party." (Page 464.) It is true, as the author points out (page 465), that many states have established permanent boards of arbitration, but the findings of these boards are binding only in those cases where both parties voluntarily appeal to them, and then for only a very short time after the settlement is made. As a matter of fact the boards are seldom appealed to by either party, for the reason that they prefer to settle their differences in their own way. The latest expression of opinion on the subject by those directly interested was given at the arbitration conference held in Chicago in December, 1900, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation. Not only were the labor representatives present not in favor of compulsory arbitration, but they were unanimously opposed to it. The method which the conservative labor organizations of the United States have long been advocating has been voluntary arbitration or conciliation through boards composed of representatives of workmen and employers in the industries concerned. The great movements which have been going on for years for the adjustment of wages and for the settlement of all matters between the workmen and their employers by collective action through their representatives, the author does not seem fully to appreciate.

With possibly this single criticism Professor Levasseur has given us by far the most comprehensive and thoroughly scientific treatment of the labor situation in the United States which has yet appeared. The work of the translator has been ably done, and, if we except a number of minor errors in spelling and punctuation and the failure to correct a misstatement of the author that a lecture by Mr. Carroll D. Wright before the students of Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn., was delivered at New Haven, the same may be said of the work of the editor.

J. E. GEORGE.

Northwestern University.

The Rise of the Swiss Republic. By W. D. McCrackan. Pp. 423. Price, \$2.00. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1901.

Mr. McCrackan has been studying Swiss political institutions very intelligently and attentively for many years. While he is not without

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a good deal of bias as a historian he is always readable and generally accurate as to his facts. His "Rise of the Swiss Republic" has now reached its second edition in an enlarged and revised form, and it will be warmly welcomed by people who know Switzerland, whether as students or only as summer visitors to its valleys, lakes and peaks. The book is a complete historical account of the development of Switzerland from the time of the rather mythical lake dwellers up to the present date. The most lively interest will be awakened, however, by the chapters which are devoted to the modern confederation.

An event which marks the beginning of a new epoch in Switzerland is the war of the Sonderbund—in a sense comparable to our Civil War. As a result of this war came a revision of the Swiss constitutional system. In 1848 a new constitution of the Swiss Confederation was adopted by a majority of the cantons and a majority of the voters; and the central government, assuming more power to itself, became from that time forward of some real authority in the direction of affairs.

Mr. McCrackan is a warm advocate of those characteristically democratic institutions, the initiative and the referendum. The Federal Government and every canton except Fribourg have the referendum either in its compulsory or optional form. Since 1891 the Confederation has had the initiative and seventeen out of the twenty-two cantons have adopted it. Upon the application of thirty thousand voters in the Confederation a bill which has passed the legislature must be submitted to the popular vote, and 50,000 voters can originate a law. In rather unscientific enthusiasm Mr. McCrackan says of this system: "There is no movement in any other country at present which can be compared to this masterly and systematic reform on democratic lines. It is full of great possibilities. It has already fulfilled many of its earlier promises. It is rapidly converting the Swiss people into a nation governing itself upon an almost ideal plan—directly, logically and without intermediaries."

Our author believes that these reforms should be introduced into the United States. We should know by this time that they have been pretty thoroughly tested in this country. The representative system has been modified very materially—not only in respect of state constitutions, which have been referred to popular vote almost from the foundation of the government, but also as to state statutes and all kinds of local laws and ordinances. Furthermore, the people may originate various classes of local legislation. And we have attained this development quite independently of the Swiss experience. It is true that the Swiss example has recently led to the amendment of the

state constitutions so as to introduce the initiative and the referendum in the general Swiss form into the political practice of South Dakota and Utah, while the change is pending in Oregon and some other commonwealths. A few large cities, as San Francisco, have such provisions in their charters; and a political element, hitherto influential in the West, would like to see the principles extended. The author would have only one house of legislature, and it would be not more than a committee for submitting bills to popular vote. The people would be their own lawmakers to check the evil acts and corrupt designs of their representatives.

While the abuses which are to be remedied are very gross there are some points which authors like Mr. McCrackan overlook. They study the Swiss experience and take too little account of our own. They allege that when the Swiss constitution was adopted its framers patterned it after the American constitution—introducing modifications, however, to suit local conditions. It is this that we need to do when we transplant the referendum. We need to consider American conditions more carefully. We have the referendum, and how has it operated?

The opponents of the referendum, says Mr. McCrackan, assume that the people are an "unreasoning beast." They do not have to assume anything of the kind, nor do they believe this. They look only at the facts. If they are to make their own laws the people should manifest a deep interest and active zeal in measures which are submitted to them. Instead of this the records in this country, covering many states for many years, show that only about half as many men will go to the polls to vote for measures as vote for members of the legislature, governors, congressmen, etc. No matter what the tendency may be in small, compact states like Switzerland, Americans cannot be persuaded to come out in large numbers to vote either for or against laws. While it is often argued that those who do not vote should be governed by those who will and who do, such a lack of zeal is nevertheless very deplorable, because it enables the politicians in control of the electoral machinery to effect their own ends. No great change in our political conditions may be expected from a system which reduces rather than increases the sense of popular interest and responsibility.

The present evils are due to the fact that the people are not able to choose their representatives wisely. Would they manifest greater wisdom in the choice of laws? These are important questions of government which vitally concern the American people, and require their careful consideration when it is proposed to overturn the present constitutional system. Mr. McCrackan's history is interest-

ing but it is marred by prejudices in which the historian should never indulge.

ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER.

Philadelphia.

Railway Mail Service: A Comparative Study of Railway Rates and Service. By GEORGE G. TUNELL. Pp. 214. Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1901.

This book consists of a series of articles arising from the controversy over the remuneration of railways for the carriage of mail matter. Although "nominally disconnected," the articles all bear upon the subject of the mail service of the railways and the rate of payment therefor. The first and principal article consists of a statement submitted to the Joint Congressional Committee on Postal Affairs (created by Act of Congress, approved June 13, 1898), and is apparently a brief for the railways in general, and in particular for the Chicago and Northwestern Railway.

The articles forming the book are apparently the result of careful and painstaking study (in many cases of material inaccessible to most students) and disclose a thorough knowledge of the subject. Mr. Tunell traces the genesis and evolution of the present method of remunerating railroads from the Act of 1873 and attempts to show cause why a demand for a reduction in the rate of compensation is unreasonable and unwarranted. The author lays emphasis upon the demands made by the postal department upon the railroads and the excellent service required, and finds a justification for the present high rates in the excellent character of this service. He moreover shows that the mail transportation rates have actually declined despite the improvement in the service, and that even since 1879, when the rates were legally reduced for the last time, the railroad receipts per ton mile of mail matter transported have fallen off almost forty per cent. He presents in detail the factors making for high cost in mail transportation and points out the fact that, in consequence of mail matter being weighed only once in four years and the remuneration being based upon the weight of the mails at the time last preceding, as well as for other reasons, the railroads do not, as a matter of fact, receive payment for the whole weight carried.

The book is largely controversial. It contains a mass of statistical data bearing upon the subject of rates and costs.

WALTER E. WEYL.

Up From Slavery. By BOOKER T. WASHINGTON. Pp. ix, 330. Price, \$1.50. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901.

Mr Washington's latest book is principally autobiographical, and will doubtless arouse the same interest it excited when appearing in

serial form in the *Outlook*. The work might well be called a book with a purpose although the purpose is revealed only in the unfolding of the life it records. The author is a man of parts, one who has seen opportunity, has seized it and firmly maintained his grasp. He has not disdained to set forth candidly his lowly beginnings, and the consequent worth of such a narrative is far-reaching.

The book begins with the author's slave days, records his arduous struggles and ends with his days of triumph over caste and color prejudice. Tuskegee of course is his central theme, and he writes of his labors there with a simplicity that appeals powerfully to the reader. As in all of his writings there is no striving after literary effect. Its worth as a story of a life is in the incentive it gives to the dependent Negro race to look forward and upward with hope, encouraged by the thought that what one man has done another may do. It presents, as does every product of Mr. Washington's pen, the same earnest plea to "dignify and glorify common labor," while it touches also the embarrassments of a Negro's life. In this respect it will prove of value to both friends and enemies.

What seems of greatest value in the work is the altruistic spirit which pervades it. The idea of helping others, brought out in Chapter IV, and recurring again and again throughout the pages along with the parallel idea of self-help, seems to strike the keynote of Mr. Washington's life work. The other thoughts woven in are simply woof, giving light and shade, humor and pathos to the whole. No part of the book sets forth more pertinently the problems connected with racial prejudice than does Chapter VI on the Black Race and Red Race. There the idea is clearly brought out that, after all, it is not color but the stigma of slavery that attaches itself to and hedges about the American Negro. Mr. Washington has experienced exceptionally favorable treatment on all sides, but he is not blind to what others who are refined and intelligent have so often to endure, and it is well for him to speak.

In a succinct way he has shown himself to the world as never before. He has told of his privations and his triumphs with equal unostentation, and as we read we are not at a loss to see what elements of character have contributed largely to his success. He is a man with a cause—a cause which, as in the case of General Armstrong and his successor at Hampton Institute, Dr. F. B. Frissell, has always been placed before the man. His policy, as in his other books, can be read in every line. It is shown in the temper with which he has associated with the Saxon race and in which he has been listened to in return. Lessons of practical value can be drawn from this in these days of unrest. This policy runs like a vein through the pages—a determined

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policy to "bring the races together and to encourage the cultivation of friendly relations instead of doing that which would embitter." No one can cavil at the ideas presented concerning the situation and the condition of the race. They are eminently sensible and can be summed up in the pithy statement: "No man who continues to add something to the material, intellectual and moral well-being of the place in which he lives is long left without proper reward. This is a great human law which cannot be permanently nullified."

This volume of 330 pages will at least show what one man of the Negro race has done in this direction and that the law referred to has worked naturally to the end. The book is written in the spirit of fairness and frankness. The author pays tribute to the improvement of the race in morals and industrial condition and this, coming from such a competent observer, counterbalances the stigmatization that the race has received from another man of color who saw no good in the American Negro.

As the purport of the work is to present a life sketch, the author does not aim to set forth facts so copiously nor so pertinently as in his former book, "The Future of the American Negro," nor does he deviate from the lines of reasoning already familiar to his readers. The work is one of the sanest, most interesting and convincing of autobiographies—sane in views, interesting in unique material, and convincing in itself as a plain statement of the possibilities of the Negro race. It will help much in refuting errors, encouraging friends, and converting enemies.

W. S. SCARBOROUGH.

Wilberforce University.

A History of the Latin Monetary Union. A Study of International Monetary Action. By HENRY PARKER WILLIS. Pp. viii, 332. Price, \$2.00. The University of Chicago Press, 1901.

The present volume is No. V in the economic studies published by the University of Chicago under the editorship of Professor J. Laurence Laughlin. As stated in the preface, its purpose is "to furnish an impartial historical account of the various steps taken by the Latin Union, especially so far as concerns its treatment of the silver question; and to see how far such an account will furnish support for current notions regarding the monetary problem as affected by the action of the Latin Union."

The book is divided into twenty chapters and three appendices. The first four chapters are introductory and contain an account of the monetary history of France, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy in the years immediately preceding the formation of the Union and of the

monetary difficulties which led to the treaty of 1865. Chapters V and VI contain a detailed account of the proceedings of the convention of 1865, an analysis of the treaty which followed, and a special discussion of the part which France took in these deliberations and of the nature of her influence. Chapters VII to XII inclusive treat of the history of the Latin Union up to 1874. Chapters XIII and XIV treat of the convention of 1874 and the period of restricted coinage of five franc pieces, and the remaining chapters treat of the conference of 1878, the discontinuance of the coinage of the five franc pieces, and the history of the Union down to the present time.

The introductory chapters are sketchy and are confined exclusively to a statement of such facts in the monetary history of the four states concerned as was necessary to explain the difficulties leading up to the Union. In the discussion of the period, 1865 to 1874, especial emphasis is given to the effect of the suspension of specie payments in Italy and to the peculiar position which that question occupied in the Union during the entire period. Dr. Willis has carefully analyzed the discussions held during the annual meetings of the representatives of the four states and has attempted to trace the changes of sentiment and opinion regarding the Union itself and especially regarding the desirability of a gold standard.

In the chapters which treat of the period since 1878 prominence is given by Dr. Willis to the discussions concerning the redemption of the five franc pieces, to the circumstances which led up to the treaty of 1885, and to those which have preserved the Union since that date.

The detailed account which Dr. Willis has given us throws light upon a great many questions which have been more or less obscure in the minds of most people. It shows conclusively that the Union was entirely unsuccessful in its attempts to maintain the concurrent circulation of the five franc pieces and the gold coins. It also makes very clear the fact that the reason for the failure of the bimetallic system was not solely the adoption of the gold standard by Germany or demonetization of silver by the United States, but that a great many other circumstances, peculiar to the Union itself, entered in; such, for example, as the suspension of specie payments by Italy, the growth of public opinion in favor of the gold standard, and the growing importance to commerce of the use of gold as a form of currency. The attitude of France toward the bimetallic question is also clearly shown. The distinction between the attitude of the commercial classes and that of government officials and great financiers is well brought out, as well as the peculiar interests which the French government had at stake in this controversy. In his analysis of the controversy between France and Belgium over the obligation

of the members of the Union to redeem the five franc pieces, Dr. Willis has been able to show clearly the strength of the bond which holds the various states together at the present time and prevents the dissolution of the Union.

Dr. Willis derived his information from original sources and apparently examined the greater part, if not all, of the documents which have a bearing upon this question. In his interpretation of facts he was not always able to conceal his own opinions, and the reader sometimes has occasion to wonder whether the other side has been given a fair hearing. On the whole, however, the book impresses one as an unprejudiced and careful historical study. In places the style is crude and rough, and important points are sometimes buried beneath masses of unimportant details. Dr. Willis deserves great credit for having given to the public the most complete and detailed account of this important chapter in monetary history which has yet appeared in the English language.

WILLIAM A. SCOTT.

University of Wisconsin.

The Political Economy of Humanism. By HENRY WOOD. Pp. 319. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1901.

"He is writing about everything—like Buckle," says one of Turgenyev's characters. Had Mr. Wood's book appeared sooner his name might well have been substituted by Turgenyev for that of the English philosopher, for "*The Political Economy of Humanism*" is literally "about everything." In form it is a collection of twenty-four essays of varying length, which touch upon every question, from gold production to industrial education, and which solve all without the slightest hesitation or cavil. It certainly is not political economy, and we doubt whether or not it is humanism. Some question on the latter point seems to have existed in the author's own mind, for when first published in 1894 the book was entitled "*The Political Economy of Natural Law*." At that time it "was well received and called out hundreds of commendatory notices from the best class of critics and newspapers." Notwithstanding this success Mr. Wood has substituted the name *Humanism* for *Natural Law*, from which it may be a fair inference that there is some connection between the two. While, however, it has thus been doubtful whether the book was *Natural Law* or *Humanism* the author has at least been sure of one thing—it was always political economy. This is precisely where some persons will disagree with him. He confesses that it is "independent of professional methods," but aims to outline a "political economy which is natural and practical rather than artificial and

theoretical." Whether it be political economy or not Mr. Wood's book is certainly "natural," in that every man of average intelligence might be supposed to know whatever of truth it contains, while it is "practical" in that no effort is required to master it, and in that it relieves the mind of all worry concerning industrial problems by merely whistling them down the wind. If socialism is really "the political economy of the criminal classes," Mr. Wood's philosophy is the political economy of the well-to-do man of a small town who lights a cigar of the best brand and falls gently asleep after a good dinner. Its central idea is that there is somewhere in the universe a great reservoir of "Natural Law" whose benevolent influence is everywhere at work dictating that all shall go as it should, and making this earth the very best of all possible worlds, constructed and carried on by the fortunate and for the fortunate. Poverty, suffering and crime are merely incidents due to disobedience to natural law, and in nowise implying responsibility on the part of those in power.

The best that can be said of Mr. Wood's book is that it cannot do any great harm. The only danger is that some one may be deceived by its verbosity and think that there is really something in it.

H. PARKER WILLIS.

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NOTES.

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

Personal Registration of Voters in Pennsylvania.—At the 1897 session of the Pennsylvania Legislature an amendment was introduced to make possible the introduction of personal registration in Pennsylvania. This amendment, which had been prepared for the Municipal League of Philadelphia, was introduced by Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, a member of the legislature at that session. The Constitution of Pennsylvania, Article 8, Section 7, reads: "All laws regulating the holding of elections by the citizens or for the registration of electors shall be uniform throughout the state, but no elector shall be deprived of the privilege of voting by reason of his name not being registered." This last clause has rendered ineffective all attempts at personal registration as has been pointed out in a recent article in the *ANNALS*.¹ Gross registration frauds have not only been made possible, but actually carried into effect by reason of the laxity of the present laws.

The proposed amendment was defeated at the session of 1897, but was reintroduced in 1899 and passed, it being practically the only reform measure which was passed at that session. The amendment, however, was vetoed by the Governor of Pennsylvania. The Municipal League of Philadelphia through its counsel, Mr. Woodruff, assisted by Messrs George W. Guthrie of Pittsburg, W. F. Darby of Harrisburg and Henry Budd and David Wallerstein of Philadelphia, instituted proceedings to test the right of the Governor to take such action. The lower court decided against the League's contention, but the Supreme Court, the highest appellate authority in the state, unanimously sustained the League's contention that the Executive had no right to veto a proposed amendment to the constitution.

The amendment was resubmitted, as required by the constitution, to the legislature of 1901 and under the leadership of the Union Committee for the Promotion of Ballot Reform and the Merit System in Pennsylvania, was passed by both branches of the legislature.

The amendment now comes before the people of Pennsylvania at the election on November 5, 1901, for adoption. An active campaign has been instituted in its behalf throughout the state. It is receiving general support from all parties, leading Republicans and Democrats, as well as Municipal Leaguers endorsing it. In the event of the

¹ See *ANNALS*, Vol. XVII, p. 181.

people approving the amendment, it will be possible for the next legislature to adopt a system of personal registration, similar to those now in force in New York and Massachusetts. At the same election an amendment making possible the use of voting machines will be submitted to the voters. The Registration Amendment also gives the legislature power to classify the state into city and county districts.

Providence Street Railway Franchise and Transfers.¹—The local street railway company has not given transfer tickets during the nine years that its twenty-year franchise has already run, although much popular pressure has been brought to bear upon it. Intentionally or unintentionally no provision for transfer tickets was placed in the franchise grant, and now the city is quite at the mercy of the company in the matter.

The railway company has announced itself as unalterably opposed "to transfer tickets, because conductors are dishonest, and the public would take advantage and get two rides for one fare."

The company maintains furthermore, that, by reason of the peculiar construction of its lines (nearly all of them passing through a central point in the city something like the opposite spokes of a wheel), it practically furnishes the accommodation given in other cities by transfers. The people, however, have been unable to see it in that way, and have continued to want transfers. At last the company has offered transfers if permitted to give them in its own way. Its plan is to build several transfer stations at the most convenient places, on the public streets or squares, and to have (some or all) cars pass through these stations. Those wishing to transfer must ride into these stations and wait until the desired car comes in also. The plan does not impress the public at all favorably. The prospect of being penned up in the stations is not pleasing. The people are told that it works well in a town in Tennessee, but they know that in all the cities they ever had any experience of, simple tickets are given and the holder looks out for himself. The attempt was made at the last meeting of the council before the summer adjournment, to "jam" the proposal through. The committee having it in charge reported favorably—it was too bad to lose two or three months by stopping for mere discussion. The leading paper argued plausibly in the same line. But the majority of the council heard from their constituents and the matter was postponed.

Such is the situation in regard to the transfer question. The city is powerless. It can only accept or refuse such offers as the railway company sees fit to make. It cannot admit to its streets any other company which would give transfers—the present franchise is exclusive.

¹ Contributed by Dr. Sidney A. Sherman, Brown University.

It cannot raise the rate of special taxation upon the company—that is settled by the state legislature. It cannot refuse the right of extension, etc., in new streets—that would deprive the people in new districts of the means of transportation. It cannot itself enter the field with a municipal railway system on its own streets—that would break the "exclusive" contract again, and besides it would savor too much of socialism, which must never be. There is no loophole of escape.

Duluth.—Telephone System.¹ The first telephone company in Duluth, known as the "Duluth," or the "Old" Company, was either in its inception or soon thereafter became the creature of the so-called Bell Telephone "Monopoly." Its charges were felt to be extortionate, and its demeanor to patrons, as to the public, was overbearing. A new company was organized and received a twenty-five year franchise March 11, 1899. Prior to the granting of this franchise, competitive bids had been publicly called for by the city, but the "Old" company contemptuously ignored the opportunity.

The franchise of the old company has expired; but under a rather forced judicial construction of a state statute of 1881, extending to telephone companies the privilege, theretofore (in 1866) granted to telegraph companies, to build their lines over roads and highways, the old company still operates its system in defiance. It has lost many of its old patrons; but its better long distance connections have helped to keep it alive, despite its bad odor in the community at large, and it is popularly credited with leaving no stone unturned to thwart its rival or to ultimately absorb it.

The franchise of the new company was not however obtained without a struggle. The old company, whose local end comprised, directly and indirectly, many of Duluth's influential business men, made every possible effort to defeat the attempt to install this dangerous competitor. The press, in the main, was non-committal. The people, however, were thoroughly aroused against the old company, and their loyal representatives in the administrative and legislative departments of the city were in sufficient force to protect the people's interests, and the new company received its charter.

Among these conditions and restrictions may be enumerated the following:

(a) Installation and maintenance of an improved and modern system, known as the "long distance copper wire metallic system."
(b) Reduction of rates from \$50-\$60 per year, payable yearly in advance, the old company's then going charges, to "\$20 per year, for residence telephones, and for telephones in business houses or offices \$35 for the first year and \$30 thereafter (as the maximum

¹ Contributed by W. G. Joerns, Duluth, Minn.

charge), all payable quarterly in advance," with "but one telephone on a line." (c) Gross earnings tax, to the city, of one-half percent, payable semi-annually, in addition to its general taxation under state law. (d) Free telephones, fifteen in number, to the city in its public offices, fire halls and public schools; use of poles and conduits for the city fire alarm and telegraph system; and public telephones, with regulated charge in the suburbs. (e) Superior connection, without extra charge. The city of Superior has also installed a new system, which has largely supplanted the old or "Bell" system at that point. (f) Supervision of construction, semi-annual audit, and original sworn statement of expenditure and annual sworn statements thereafter to the city authorities. (g) Safeguards against sale or transfer of plant or franchise or purchase of competing plants. (h) Right of purchase in city, at any time after five years, at a valuation, to be fixed by arbitration if not agreed upon, but "not to exceed the cost of duplication" plus ten per cent.

The total alleged investment of the new company, as returned on March 1 of this year, was approximately \$185,000. The number of pay telephones in use at that time was returned as 1,470, which is about double the number in use by the old company at the time the franchise was granted to the new.

The service of the new company has, in the main, been quite satisfactory and has been a substantial improvement upon the service of the old company, both before and since the entry of the new, though the old company has likewise been stimulated into better service by the competition of the new and is making all manner of concession in rates to oust its dangerous and more successful rival.

Docks.—The major part of Duluth's dock property is owned or controlled by the great transportation companies or larger commercial interests and practically all of it is private property. The city has, however, built and now maintains public docks for passengers and light freight at the foot of several streets which lead to the water's edge. These city docks are absolutely free to all.

Minnesota.—*State Primary Election Law.*¹ In 1899 the Minnesota Legislature enacted a primary election law whose salient features have been described in these pages.² At the time of its passage and again at its first trial this law excited much comment, owing to its unusual character. It was, in brief, an experiment in the largest county of the state, Hennepin, with a system whereby party nominations should be made directly by the voters, instead of through the medium of party conventions. As a direct result of the first trial of

¹Contributed by Frank Maloy Anderson, of the University of Minnesota.

²ANNALS, November, 1900, p. 146.

the law the legislature of this year has revised it in a few particulars and extended its application to the entire state. In its present form it is believed to be the most thoroughgoing attempt yet made upon a large scale to eliminate the party caucus from American political machinery; in view of this circumstance its first trial, occurring in November, 1902, will doubtless be watched with much interest.

In general, the revised law may be described as the Australian ballot system utilized for primary election purposes. The first registration day, seven weeks prior to the general election, is also the day of the primary election. After registering for the general election the voter may obtain from the judges a ballot of the party to which he declares that he belongs. If his party membership is questioned the voter must take oath that *in general* he supported that party at the last election and proposes to do the same at the approaching election. The ballot furnished to the voter contains the names of all persons who have duly announced themselves as candidates for nomination by filing their names with the appropriate county or state officials, paying their fees, and making affidavit that they belong to the party whose nomination they seek. Nearly all of the elective officers are included in this arrangement; the only exceptions are the state officials and members of park, school and library boards in towns of less than fifty thousand inhabitants. All nominations are made by plurality of the votes actually cast.

In several particulars this law is believed to be an improvement upon the original law of 1899. One of the most important changes is the elimination of the requirement that candidates for nomination must procure a petition signed by 10 per cent of the party voters in order to secure the enrollment of their names upon the ballot. Experience in the Hennepin County trial demonstrated that any candidate could obtain the requisite number of signatures, the circulation of petitions being thus found merely a waste of time and money. Another still more important change is that whereby the voter is given only one party ballot. By the original law the ballots of all parties were handed to the voter; he was expected to use that of the party to which he belonged, returning the unused ballots to the judges, who deposited all of the ballots in the box, thus insuring secrecy as to the voter's party affiliation. The possibility that some of the voters of one party would take part in the selection of candidates of another party was recognized; but it was believed that few would actually do so, since they would be compelled to forego the privilege of assisting in the nomination of their own party candidates. The trial in Hennepin County seemed to show, however, that many members of the minority party did participate in the selection of the candidates of the

majority party; in one instance it seemed probable that such votes determined the choice made. It is not expected that the new system will materially remedy this evil, although there is an opportunity afforded for challenges; the idea of the change is that the evil mentioned is a necessary one and that the new arrangement simplifies the process of counting.

While the law was under discussion its advocates made a determined effort to have it include all elective officers, especially the state officials, and only yielded the point to save the measure. The chief arguments used against their inclusion were that the law is an experiment yet and that state conventions will still be necessary for the framing of party platforms. As far as can be ascertained from the discussions in the legislature and the newspapers of the state, the demand for the enactment of the law was surprisingly general; so much so that there was no bitter opposition, similar to that which resulted in the defeat of a much less sweeping measure in Wisconsin.

Colorado.—*Woman's Suffrage and Municipal Politics.*¹ As early as the year 1868 an effort was made to have the question of woman suffrage considered in the Territorial Legislature of Colorado. In the year 1870 Governor McCook recommended the extension of the franchise to women and in that year a bill was brought forward in the legislature providing that the question be submitted to the people at the next election. The bill was defeated.

In the year 1876 a vigorous effort was made to have the right of women to vote recognized in the State Constitution. This was not done, but Section 2, Article 7, provided as follows: "The General Assembly may at any time extend by law the right of suffrage to persons not herein enumerated, but no such law shall take effect or be in force until the same shall have been submitted to a vote of the people at a general election and approved by a majority of all the votes cast for or against such law." Accordingly, in 1877, the question was submitted to a vote of the electors, who decided against woman suffrage by a vote of 20,000 to 10,000. Again in 1881 a bill in behalf of woman suffrage was lost in the legislature.

In the year 1890 the agitation was renewed under the auspices of the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association and in the year 1893 the General Assembly passed a bill similar to that of 1877, the majority in both houses being composed largely of Populists. At the election the people decided in favor of woman suffrage by a vote of 35,698 to 29,461.

After this notable victory many women devoted themselves to the study of civil government and allied subjects in preparation for their

¹ Contributed by Prof. J. R. Le Rossignol, University of Denver.

first exercise of the right of suffrage. The campaign of 1894 had to do with the life or death of Populism and as a rule women joined the existing parties for the purpose of deciding this momentous issue. Numerous political clubs of women were formed which took an active part in the campaign. Women attended political meetings of all kinds and finally appeared at the polls in large numbers, aiding their male fellow-citizens in deciding the fate of Populism. Similarly, in the national election of 1896 the question of free silver was the paramount issue and men and women alike took sides according to their economic convictions. No other question could have compelled the women to work in harmony with the existing party organizations, for after the campaign of 1894 many of the leading women of all parties showed a disposition to break away from party control. They had obtained an insight into political methods, had been disappointed and even deceived, and they thought that they could improve the condition of politics by operating along independent lines, especially in regard to municipal affairs. Hence the break-down of the women's political clubs and the formation of non-partisan associations, notably the Civic Federation, established in the year 1895 by a number of leading women of different political creeds.

In the municipal campaign of 1895 the Civic Federation was content to secure the nomination of some candidates and to recommend these and others by means of an endorsed list prepared for the instruction of voters. In the municipal election of 1897 the Civic Federation, in alliance with the 'Taxpayers' party, nominated a separate ticket, composed of candidates from the Republican, Democratic and Populist parties. The entire ticket was elected and the administration of the ensuing two years was one of the best that Denver has ever had.

Since the election of 1897 the Civic Federation has taken less part in active politics and in the recent municipal election it took no part at all. The work of the Federation has fallen on the shoulders of the leading members who find that it demands a great amount of time and energy, that it is wholly unremunerative from a financial point of view and that it is not properly appreciated by the public at large nor even by any considerable fraction of women voters themselves. They have, therefore, become somewhat discouraged and have latterly confined their attention to the advocacy of the reforms in which they are interested by other than the usual political methods. For a time, after their first enthusiasm was over, women largely ceased to attend primaries and conventions, while still performing their duty as voters, but more recently there has been a revival of activity, especially in connection with the regular parties. The Bryan Woman's Democratic Club of Colorado has a membership of about 10,000, and the

Woman's Republican League of Colorado is very large and influential, with headquarters in Denver and auxiliary leagues in every part of the state.

It is difficult to give an estimate of the value of woman suffrage to Colorado, because of the diversity of opinion on the subject and because it is not yet possible to prove either the success or failure of the system from the point of view of social expediency. At the first election it is claimed that over fifty per cent of the total vote was cast by women and at the present time the women's vote probably amounts to at least forty per cent of the total vote. There is no distinct or independent women's vote. It is stated on good authority that at the last election at least ten per cent of married women cast ballots different from those cast by their husbands. Women have not been harmed but rather benefited by the franchise and in many cases they take an intelligent and earnest interest in political questions.

The character of the leading women politicians is high. At first many of the leading society and club women of Colorado took an active part in political work. Then many of them withdrew from political life and some women of undesirable manners took their place. Latterly these undesirable persons have been pushed out of the party organizations and at the present time the women's organizations are led by representative women of high character and ability. It is stated by a well-known politician that committee women are more reliable than men, taking greater pride in their work and securing better results.

Women are not clamorous for office and it is often difficult to induce them to become candidates. Since 1894 ten women have sat as representatives in the legislative assembly. In the same time there have been three state superintendents of education, all women, the present incumbent now serving for a second term. Women have served acceptably as members of various state boards, notably the Board of Charities and Corrections and the governing boards of the State Home for Dependent and Neglected Children and the State Home and Industrial School for Girls. Women have exerted a civilizing influence upon the character of political meetings. They have, at times, exerted an influence toward securing the nomination of respectable candidates and the presence of women in political conventions tends toward improvement in this respect.

A considerable proportion of women is as yet somewhat independent of party control, forming an unknown quantity which disturbs the calculations of party managers. This unknown quantity, called by some independence, by others fickleness, may be regarded as

counting against rather than for political trickery and corrupt practices.

Since the introduction of woman suffrage some reforms have been accomplished wholly or in part through the influence of women. Among these may be mentioned the law securing co-equal guardianship of children, the law raising the age of consent to eighteen years, the curfew law, the law providing for indeterminate sentence, the law removing the emblems from the ballot, the establishment of the Home for Dependent Children and the Industrial School for Girls. The Civic Federation and other women's organizations have also favored other reforms not yet secured.

People who expected that society would be utterly and immediately regenerated through the influence of woman suffrage have been grievously disappointed and many of them, both men and women, consider the experiment a total failure and would be glad to see the old system restored. Woman suffrage has not purified politics to any great extent. Corrupt practices are as common in Colorado as in any other state and it is a question whether there is less political corruption at the present time than there was before 1894. While saloons have been abolished in many small towns and country districts, largely through the influence of women, in the city of Denver and in other large towns the saloon flourishes under the protection of favoring laws and in open defiance of such restrictions as are by law established. The political character of the Fire and Police Board is held to be responsible for this condition of affairs in the city of Denver and it must be said that the Civic Federation and other women's organizations have tried to secure home rule for Denver, without success. The social evil has not been abated through the influence of woman suffrage and in general it may be said that no marked social or political transformation has yet been accomplished by this means.

For all that, it is safe to say that woman suffrage has done no harm while it has done some good and that it has been adopted by Colorado "for better, for worse."

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Wyoming.¹—*Woman's Suffrage and Municipal Politics*. July 25, 1868, President Johnson approved a bill erecting the territory of Wyoming. This law extended suffrage to men only. The new government was inaugurated the following year. John A. Campbell, the governor, was a Republican, and William H. Bright, the president of the upper house of the legislature, was a Democrat. Mrs. Ester Morris, of Cheyenne, at once interested these two men in woman's suffrage, and before the year 1869 had closed Wyoming had extended to women the privilege of voting. The act had no political significance. The next year an effort was made to repeal the law, but the governor vetoed the bill, and the enemies of woman's suffrage failed to secure the vote necessary to pass the bill over the governor's veto. The law remained in force as long as Wyoming was a territory.

When, in 1889, the constitutional convention met, the opposition to universal suffrage had almost disappeared. A few persons asked that the question of woman's suffrage be submitted as a separate article, to be voted on apart from the constitution, hoping to defeat the measure in this manner. While their petition was denied by the convention the members asserted the belief that the measure would receive a large majority of the votes if it should be thus submitted. Suffrage, without regard to sex, is now guaranteed by Wyoming's constitution to all citizens of the United States, who can read the constitution and who have resided the required length of time in any county of Wyoming.

Men and women alike justify the extension of suffrage on democratic grounds only, and the many arguments offered for and against woman's suffrage in the eastern states fail under an actual test. That I might give a perfectly fair statement of the workings of woman's suffrage I have interviewed men and women in every county of the state but one. The following opinions were expressed by them:

Women vote, but it is necessary to send carriages for them and to use all the influence at the command of the political committees to get the women to the polls. Since voters are required to register in the cities and larger villages, the expense of carriage hire is quite

¹ Contributed by Prof. H. H. Roberts, University of Wyoming.

an item, but an absolutely necessary one. Yet there are women who refuse to ride in these carriages, and in two of the cities leagues were formed in which the members pledged themselves to walk to the polls.

Members of the "central committees" declare that at least 90 per cent of the voters register. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the relative number of the men and women who do not register, yet the majority hold that there is no difference in the number.

The following statements of five precincts of Laramie will give a good idea of the conditions existing in the state:

Number of men registered	904
" " women registered	617
" " men who voted	844
" " women "	570

Thus ninety-three per cent of men registering voted, while ninety-two per cent of women registering voted.

In the country precincts there is a proportionately greater number of women who do not vote. Distance from the polls, small children in the family and illness are the most frequent excuses given. About one-third of the women declare themselves opposed to woman's exercising the right of suffrage, yet they go to the polls and vote. Many prominent women have said that the working of woman's suffrage is disappointing to women.

In answer to this question, "Is there a law in the statute books of Wyoming placed there through woman's influence?" Several hundred women have answered frankly that "there is not one." A few women gave the women credit for two laws, the "law of distribution of property of a deceased person," and the "law of consent," while other women denied that the women had anything to do with the passing of these laws.

When asked why women have not forced temperance legislation the following reasons have been given by the women: "The women are too few." "We must consider the effect of our stand on our husband's business and political aspirations." "We lack leaders." A comparison of the relative number of men and women in the table given above shows that the number of women is at least 40 per cent of the number of men. A leading politician related the following: "Several years ago, at the city election in my city, there was a straight issue between the temperance and saloon forces, my party espoused the cause of temperance, the workers refused to have anything to do with the management of the campaign, hence very few women voted, and quite as many voted for the saloon candidates as for the friends of temperance." One of the most prominent women

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of the state said: "Woman's suffrage does not affect the temperance question."

What good has woman's suffrage done for the state? It has purified politics, cleaner candidates are nominated and the elections are more orderly. Yet the same changes can be found in almost any community of the same size in the east. There are no large cities in this state to compare with the cities of the east. The women frequently complain that men are less courteous under the present condition—a charge that seems to have no foundation. Leading women have said: "The men do not want us at the primaries, but they want our vote." Hence few attend the primaries or convention. There are a very few women elected to office. Usually the county superintendent of schools is a woman, and there is at least one woman in the state who is serving as a member of a school board. The women are not seekers after office.

While the opinions expressed above are the conclusions of several hundred persons in all parts of the state, the following are my own conclusions after studying the question for three years:

No evil has resulted from woman's suffrage. The women of Wyoming are much more tolerant than their sisters of the east. Prejudice does not influence political actions to any great extent. They do things on business principles. While they usually vote with their party and their husbands,¹ they form an uncertain element in politics that is an excellent restraining influence on the action of party leaders. While the women do not serve on school boards they dominate the school meetings and practically control the schools of the state, the advantage of woman's suffrage being very evident here. Women are not unsexed, nor is family harmony disturbed. Whatever the cause may be, man as well as woman, has greater rights under the laws of Wyoming than under the laws of Ohio. Woman's influence has been general rather than specific.

Nebraska.²—*Municipal Legislation of 1901.* The last session of the legislature was not fruitful of important enactments. A contest for the election of two United States Senators (one to fill a vacancy) unusually prolonged and bitter, and terminating only upon the eve of adjournment, absorbed the major portion of the members' time and energy. This furnished an effective argument in favor of popular election of senators which even the legislature itself recognized by a memorial to Congress requesting that body to call a convention for the

¹ The secretary of the central committee in a town of 2,000 voters says that there are but six families where the politics of husband and wife differ.

² Contributed by Charles Sumner Lobingier of the Omaha bar, Professor of Law in the University of Nebraska.

purpose of so amending the Federal Constitution as to provide for popular election. In spite, however, of the distractions of canvassing and caucusing, the legislature found time to pass 122 acts and resolves and though hardly any of them were of first importance, many of them, such as those providing for an inheritance tax and for the relief of the Supreme Court by the appointment of commissioners, were greatly desired. In the domain of Municipal Legislation the new laws are of rather less general importance than in other departments. The charter of Lincoln was changed considerably and many new features added, among the most important of which was the creation of the office of tax commissioner. The validity of this charter was early attacked in the courts but the Supreme Court has filed an opinion sustaining it, though at the present writing a motion for a rehearing is still pending. Amendments were also made to the charters of smaller cities—those from 25,000 to 40,000 and from 5,000 to 25,000, but these are largely of local interest. The Nebraska constitution prohibits the legislature from passing laws applicable in terms to a single municipality but this is evaded by passing charters which, though in terms general, are so framed as to apply only to particular cities. In this way we have the "Lincoln Charter" the "Omaha Charter," etc., though each of these purports to govern all cities of a certain population. No change was made at the recent session in the charter applying to Omaha, though several measures for that purpose were pending, notably bills for increasing the salaries of certain city officials. An act was passed, however (which as it applies to cities over 50,000 affects only Omaha), providing for the appointment of a board for the examination and licensing of plumbers and the inspection of their work, with power to enact certain rules intended to secure sanitary plumbing. This board has already been appointed and has begun its work. An act was also passed authorizing all cities of the first and second classes (*i. e.*, those under 100,000) to establish and maintain plants for supplying "heat or light" to the inhabitants at rates to be fixed by the city council and to levy a tax not exceeding two mills on the assessed valuation of the city for that purpose. The act providing for a Public Library Commission, to encourage and assist in the formation of new libraries, is expected to aid in the development of municipal libraries in the smaller cities and towns.

II. SOCIOLOGY.

The Determining of Genius.—Professor Lombroso contributes an article to the October *Monist* on "The Determining of Genius." He contends that the generally accepted theory that heredity and surrounding influences determine genius is inadequate. To show this he enumerates several cases, including those of Angelo, Poe and Ricardo. Angelo became a great painter and sculptor in spite of parental influence. Poe's people were Puritans. Ricardo's training was in business, but more than a business type of mind was required for the power of logical analysis, and the intricate deductive reasoning displayed in the writings of Ricardo.

The determining causes of genius are found to be a combination of strong individual tendencies with a strong sensorial impression made during adolescence. While men are under external influences and strong sensations all the time, they yield to impressions most about the age of puberty. Later in life man's ways are more fixed, and he is possessed with sentiments and ideas of his own which resist other impressions. Professor Lombroso points out a great many cases to show how the bent to the career of great men was given during the period of adolescence. John Stuart Mill was greatly impressed during this period by reading his father's "History of India." School had but little influence upon Darwin, but a copy of a journey around the world inspired him to observation and gave him his interest in science.

The writer seemed unwilling to close his article without attacking the classical tendency in the Italian system of education. In accordance with his theory, he believes that a technical, scientific and industrial system of education would be a powerful leverage in raising his country industrially and commercially.

The North American Indian.—With the recent publication of the "Jesuit Relations," by Burrows Bros., of Cleveland, there seems to be a revival of interest in the Indian, with a view to determine his real character. The "Jesuit Relations" were first published by Cramoisy, of Paris, and issued in forty annual volumes from 1632 to 1673. In the new edition, which is edited by R. G. Thwaites, of the Wisconsin Historical Association, the English translation is published along with the original French and Latin texts. The work consists of seventy-three volumes, contains some allied documents, and covers the period from 1610 to 1791. While the "Jesuit Relations" are primarily religious, they contain the most complete ethnological account of the Indian we have.

Based upon the accounts of the Jesuits, Mr. A. L. Benedict discusses, in the *International Journal of Ethics*, the question, "Has the Indian been misjudged?" He replies affirmatively, claiming that the lack of ethnological knowledge and the unsympathetic view of those who described him stood in the way of accurate information. The Jesuit lacked the ethnological knowledge, but he, above all others, took an interest in the Indian.

The ill-treatment of the women by the men, the writer thinks, has been greatly exaggerated. The woman did the housework and prepared the food, while man procured it, a division of employment recognized by the European. When we picture the Indian hunter and fisher we usually associate him with our modern hunters and fishermen who pursue these occupations for pleasure. With the Indian fishing and hunting was a serious business, often entailing much pain and labor, struggling frequently at the point of starvation to secure food.

The writer finds in the Indian language, with its "fine rhetorical distinctions" and "elaborate inflections," an evidence of a power of analysis and a vigor of intellect seldom credited to the Indian. In acquiring foreign languages quicker than the European learned his language, we find another evidence of his mental ability. He was also a skillful workman, his delicate handiwork bearing evidence of this.

Cruelty is perhaps the most serious charge preferred against the Indian. But it is doubtful whether the tortures imposed by the Indian were much more brutal than those imposed by the European several centuries ago. His wars were waged usually to settle boundary disputes or to avenge some injury, and not to satisfy his thirst for blood, as is often supposed.

In the religion of the Indian we find an analogy to the ethical ideals of the European religions. The idea of a creative spirit and a future life, where the good should be rewarded, was general in the Indian religions. He possessed a more primitive belief in a number of ways, prominent among which was a failure to distinguish between the animate and inanimate. Dreams were messages from the spirit world which had to be strictly fulfilled.

It is thought that a familiarity with the Indian, as seen from the "Jesuit Relations," will give a loftier view of him than that generally held.

The Alsea Indians of Oregon.—An article on the Alsea Indians, of Oregon, was contributed to a recent number of the *American Anthropologist*, by Livingston Farrand. This tribe is now located on the Siletz reservation in Oregon. Their tribal seat was near the

mouth of the Alsea river, on the Oregon coast, between latitude 44 and 45 degrees. To the north were the Yaquina, to the south the Siuslaw, both friendly tribes. The Alsea and Siuslaw were the most southerly tribes that practiced the head deformation by fronto-occipital pressure. The tribes living south of these practiced tattooing.

The Alsea believed that the earth was flat and floating in water. There was also a sky country where men and women went to live at the time of the great transformation. There was also an under world concerning which little was known, but where people who were bad here went to live. The entrance to this place was through the air, and over the edge of the earth. There was also a good place upon the earth, the abode of the good spirits, where there was no wind and rain, and plenty of salmon and game.

The dead were placed in huts and canoes with plenty of food. It was believed that the dead moved about and that they could help the living. They thought that the earth was one time inhabited by birds and animals in human shape, and the best places were held by monsters. Shiō'h, the great transformer, changed them into their present forms, and took some of them with him up into the sky country.

The people were divided into nobility, common people and slaves. It was possible for the common people to rise to the rank of nobility, but it was impossible for slaves to rise.

The men usually married out of the tribe and wife purchase prevailed. Frequently the family of a man assisted him in purchasing a wife. After marriage the price paid was refunded by the wife's family in the form of feasts and gifts. If a child died the wife's family had to make a payment. If the wife proved unfaithful her family had to pay also.

The families were segregated into groups. The property of deceased persons passed into the hands of relatives, regardless of nearness of kin. The traditions of the tribe were associated with the transformer. These traditions were related only in January, and were told each evening, beginning each time where they left off the previous evening.

III. PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

The Glasgow Family Home.—The London *Municipal Journal* recently published an account of the Municipal Family Home in Glasgow, expressing surprise that no municipal authority in England has thought fit to follow its example. The object in establishing the Family Home was to make provision for those who, through the unfortunate death of a husband or a wife, are unable to struggle with the up-bringing of a family of small children. It was originally designed to accommodate both sexes, but after two or three years' experience, it was found desirable to limit its facilities to men—the committee being of the opinion that men left with children are more helpless than widows under similar circumstances. The house contains 160 single bedrooms, plainly furnished, each capable of accommodating one adult and three children; a common dining room, a kitchen with gas fires and steam cooking boilers, baths and lavatories. The rent of a bedroom varies from 4s. to 5s. per week, according to the number of children occupying the room with the parent. Regular meals are cooked and supplied to the inmates at the lowest possible charges.

Exemption of Hospital for Injuries to Paying Patient.—The United States Circuit Court of Appeals has decided in the case of *Powers vs. The Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital*, that the fact that a public hospital chartered as a charitable corporation exacts and receives a pecuniary consideration from a patient does not affect its character as a charitable institution, or its rights or liabilities as such in relation to such patient. The court held that the payment to a hospital for treatment and care was in the nature of charitable aid to the hospital, and was not to be considered as full compensation for the services rendered. A paying patient stands precisely as if he had been admitted without payment, both seeking and receiving the services of a public charity. Such patient admitted to a charity hospital cannot recover judgment against the hospital for injuries caused by the negligence of a nurse employed therein provided due care has been used by the hospital in selecting the nurse.

Organized Charity in Hawaii.—The Associated Charities of Hawaii, which was established on March 27, 1899, has its headquarters in Honolulu. There are eighteen affiliated societies, and the Associated Charities appears likely to perform a useful service, notwithstanding the fact that there is comparatively little real destitution in the islands.

Employment in New York.—The *Bulletin* of the New York Department of Labor reports that the returns from the labor organizations for the months of April, May and June show that employment in that state was better during the past summer than in any of the past five years.

Child Labor in the South.—The owners of cotton mills in Georgia have taken steps toward the restriction of child labor. They have put into effect an agreement that no child under twelve years of age, excepting children of widowed mothers or physically disabled parents without other means of support, shall be allowed to work in mills, unless a certificate is shown of school attendance for four months in the year. It is also agreed that no child under ten years of age shall be allowed to work in mills either day or night. The following paragraph, added to the general agreement on child labor, was posted in the Lindale branch of the Massachusetts Mills, near Rome: "The Massachusetts Mills in Georgia have built and equipped a first-class school in which every child in the village can be educated without one cent of expense to the child's family, and although we cannot compel the attendance of children of school age, it is earnestly requested by the management of this company that every such child attend."

The mill owners of South Carolina have also petitioned the legislature for a minimum age limit of ten years for day work and twelve for night work, and urge the enactment of a compulsory education law.

Insurance of Paupers and Child Insurance.—The Lawrence, Mass., *Telegram* intimates that local undertakers not infrequently administer the estates of those who have been supported by the city in the almshouse. It appears that the undertakers bury the paupers and then take over their life insurance to recompense themselves. Inquiry seems to show, says the Boston *Advertiser*, that the practice is not peculiar to Lawrence. It is certain that in New York City undertakers often take possession of insurance documents and pay over to the survivors what is left after the deduction of the funeral expenses. It may well be that the community would not begrudge to undertakers any insurance which they may be able to collect on the death of adult paupers. The effect, however, of child insurance in stimulating extravagant funerals is a more serious matter, and has not received the attention it deserves in the consideration of the vexed subject of child insurance.

In this connection it may not be amiss to notice that the city of St. Paul has contracted for the burial of its pauper dead for the ensuing year at the rate of \$1.05 for adults and seventy-five cents for infants. The estimated cost of a burial, including a stained pine coffin, is \$3, yet at these prices there is stated to be profit for the contractor. There

is sufficient contrast to stimulate reflection between the amounts named and the \$125 and \$150 frequently expended by people whose savings do not amount to a week's income, and whose dearly bought insurance slightly exceeds the extravagant amounts thus expended.

Report on Penal Codes of France, Germany, and Japan.—A report prepared by Mr. Samuel J. Barrows, Commissioner for the United States on the International Prison Commission, and presented to Congress by the Secretary of State, has been issued from the Government Printing Office. It relates to the Penal Code of France, Germany, Belgium, and Japan, and consists of monographs prepared by specialists in the countries named. It appears that in its ideals of prison administration Japan ranks with the most progressive nations of Europe. It has centralized its prison administration, securing the resultant advantages of uniformity and economy. It has established a school for the training of higher prison officers, with a program in penology, prison hygiene, criminal psychology, and other pertinent subjects. Amended prison regulations provide a more liberal diet, participation by prisoners in their earnings, and the congregate system of labor. An association for the purpose of improving the prisons was established in Japan in 1888. It now has a membership of 10,000 and publishes a monthly magazine. There are also twenty-five societies for aiding discharged convicts. In the other three countries in the report, modern revisions have eliminated the harsher measures of the code, which, however, still continues to furnish the basis of French penal law. Mr. Barrows' report, however, traces influences from Roman sources and indicates the changes which have been dictated by the more humane modern spirit.

Charities of Porto Rico.—The first annual report of the Governor of Porto Rico for the year ending May 1, 1901, contains some interesting information concerning the progress made in the development and organization of the charities of the island in the ten months beginning April 30, 1900, during which period there was a Board of Charities existing under authority of the military government. In the schools for orphan children at Santurce, the sanitary improvements were entirely reconstructed, the schools being closed for two months, teachers dismissed and new ones employed. Under the new direction, industries were introduced of what appear to be of a suitable character. The insane asylum was enlarged and improved and contains 154 inmates evenly divided between the sexes. The condition of the lepers, of whom there are probably about sixty on the island, early claimed attention. After careful consideration and investigation the Isla de Cabras, at the entrance of the harbor of San Juan, was selected as a place suitable for their colonization, buildings were fitted up and

the lepers were removed to the colony in November of last year. At the time of the report there were seventeen leprosy persons there attended by the necessary employees. The remaining lepers then at large on the island were soon to be conveyed to the colony.

The hospitals of Porto Rico are not directly under insular control, their support, inspection and government being left to the local authorities in each municipality. In the sixty-six municipal districts there are forty hospitals or structures which are called by that name. In many cases they are mere sheds without proper equipment or attendants. There are also nineteen asylums in which the same defects prevail. More than half the population of the island is unprovided with any sort of hospital accommodation. The governor in his report suggests that the whole subject of hospitals and asylums throughout the island would be much better managed if it were placed under the control of the Board of Health and the Director of Charities, and that a complete reform and reasonable efficiency cannot be expected until this is done. There is much to be done in the care of the blind, paralytic, epileptic, and other incurables, also of the aged paupers and other unfortunates for which the current revenues are at present inadequate.

Lack of Bathing Facilities in Chicago.—From reports of the voluntary inspectors working in the tenement-house districts of Chicago it has been ascertained that ninety per cent of the flat buildings in the ghetto and other tenement districts are unprovided with bath tubs. These buildings in which the tenants are given no opportunity to bathe are occupied by over 180,000 persons, according to the estimates made by the officials of the health department.

The bathing facilities that are provided for the 20,000 other persons who reside in the tenement houses are not of the best. In many of the flat buildings a score of families are compelled to use the one bath tub that has been placed in one part of the building. The medical inspectors declare that on warm days the members of the various families occupying the tenement houses can be found limp in front of the bath-room doors waiting their chance to bathe.

Illinois State Board of Charities.—The letters of Miss Julia C. Lathrop and Dr. Emil J. Hirsch tendering their resignations as members of the State Board of Charities of Illinois, which are published in full in the *Charities* of August 17, are worthy of careful consideration in all communities in which charitable institutions are still controlled by political influences.

List of Charity Organization Societies.—The annual report of the New York Charity Organization Society publishes a list of charity organization societies in America which are in correspondence with

each other as occasion arises. The list which will be published in the forthcoming report will contain the names of about twenty societies which have not previously appeared. The list is rigidly revised each year and societies from whom information as to location, name of corresponding offices, etc., cannot be obtained, are omitted. It is requested that any who may see this notice and who know of any new societies whether called by the name of associated charities, charity organization society, or any similar title, will communicate with the editor of this department.

Change in Character of Insanity.—The superintendent of a state asylum in New England reports a marked change in the character of insanity in recent years. Thirty years ago the maniacal patients, or those with symptoms of excitement, were twice the number of those exhibiting mental depression or melancholia. Among the patients admitted during the last seven years, the number of cases characterized by depression has been larger by far than the maniacal cases. The reports of the New York State Commission in Lunacy for the past four or five years report similar observations and especially note the change in general paresis from the exalted to the depressed symptoms. The point is of social significance generally, as well as pathological, indicating the progress of degeneracy as well as the sources and character of modern mental strain.

Conference on Poor Relief and Charity in Germany.—The annual meeting of the German Union for Poor Relief and Charity was held September 11 to 14, at Lübeck. The topics discussed were as follows: (1) "Poor Relief in Foreign Lands," by Münsterberg; (2) "The Relations of Official Relief to the Insurance Departments," by Olshausen and Helling; (3) "Social Extension of Care of the Poor," by Flesch and Soetbeer; (4) "Care of the Household in Distress," by V. Hollander; (5) "The Task of Poor Relief in Respect to Inebriates," by Sauter and Waldschmidt.

The Canadian Conference.—The Fourth Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction was held in Toronto, September 25, Mr. Alexander Johnson, of Fort Wayne, Ind., was present by special invitation and gave a number of addresses. Among the subjects receiving special attention at the conference were Child's Saving, Organization and Co-operation, and Prison Reform. Mr. A. Brown, of Hamilton, was elected president for the ensuing year and Dr. Rosebrugh, of Toronto, remains secretary.

IV. COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

Philippines.—The new system of local government introduced in the Philippines has excited much comment throughout the United States. Considerable time was spent upon the preparation of the system by the second commission, and the general plan of local government which has been evolved is of great interest, not only by reason of its influence upon the Philippines, but also as an experiment whose results may be utilized in our other dependencies. The framework of local government has been founded upon two laws, governing respectively the municipality and the province. The law of municipal organization, which is the more important and fundamental of the two, provides for a complete and rather highly developed municipal system, which is to be applied at the discretion of the civil and military authorities in any part of the archipelago. The prevalent Anglo-Saxon distinction between rural and urban government, so well-known in the United States, has not been introduced by the legislator for the Philippines, but the municipality is made to comprise both urban and rural territory.

Each *municipio* is given the usual corporate powers. The government is composed of a president, vice-president, municipal council and certain appointed officers, such as the secretary and treasurer. The president, vice-president and council are elected at large in the municipality and hold office for two years. The number of members in the council varies from eight to eighteen, according to the population, there being four classes. The municipality is divided into wards or *barrios*.

The suffrage qualifications are relatively high; electors must be male persons twenty-three years of age or over, resident in the municipality, and must either have held certain important municipal offices prior to August, 1898, or own real estate to the value of five hundred dollars, or pay thirty dollars of taxes annually, or speak, read and write English or Spanish. Each elector is required to subscribe to an oath of allegiance to the United States. Persons in arms against the authority of the United States since the first day of April, 1901, or contributing to the insurgent cause since that time, are disqualified. The first election is to be held on the first Tuesday of December, 1901, and annually thereafter. The president of the municipality prepares the voting register, appeals from which may be taken to a registry board consisting of the vice-president, municipal treasurer and president. The elections are presided over by a board of election judges, who are chosen by certain members of the municipal council.

The powers of the president are extremely important and far-reaching. Besides the usual responsibility for the execution of municipal ordinances, he is required to examine the books of municipal employees, control the local police, assist in the collection of taxes and in the holding of certain public auctions, to hold hearings upon complaints respecting the violations of public ordinances and impose punishments for such violations, preside at the meetings of the municipal council, approve ordinances adopted by the council or veto the same, and appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the majority of the council, a municipal treasurer, a municipal secretary, and all other appointed officers of the municipality. He may also suspend and, by and with the advice and consent of the council, discharge such officers. The president's symbol of authority is a black, gold-headed cane with silver cord and tassels. The powers of the municipal secretary and treasurer respectively are such as naturally fall to these offices. The maximum salaries of the president, secretary and treasurer are fixed by the law according to the class of municipality.

Service in elected municipal offices is compulsory, except for those who are physically disabled or are sixty-five years of age, or have previously discharged the duties of the office. Re-election to any municipal office may not occur until two years after the first term has expired. No municipal officer is allowed to be interested directly or indirectly in any municipal contract, or in the purchase or sale of any real estate or other property by the municipality. Curiously enough, violators of this provision are only required to be removed from office upon a two-thirds vote of the council. The powers of the council are, on the whole, more extensive and important than might be expected under conditions such as those existing in the Philippines.

Besides approving or rejecting the nominations made by the president, the council is required to prescribe the duties and salaries of appointed employees, to fix the limits of municipal wards, fill permanent vacancies in the office of vice-president or councillor, make appropriations for necessary municipal expenditures, levy taxes within certain limits, manage the municipal property, erect needful buildings, provide for street lighting, sprinkling and cleaning, regulate the construction, care and use of streets, wharves and piers, suppress nuisances, prohibit unsanitary acts, construct and repair bridges, and sewers, regulate burial of dead, the establishment of slaughter-houses and markets and the inspection of the same, the inspection of various articles of food, take measures to prevent the spread of disease, establish and maintain a police department, provide against gambling houses and opium joints, restrain riots and disorderly assemblies, suppress vagrancy, provide for inspection of weights and measures, establish a post

office and postal service in harmony with the rules prescribed by the central government, establish and maintain municipal prisons and schools, regulate and license the sale of liquor and make such regulations and ordinances not repugnant to law "as may be necessary to carry into effect and to discharge the powers and duties conferred by this act, and such as shall seem necessary and proper to provide for the health and safety, promote the prosperity, improve the morals, peace, good order, comfort and convenience of the municipality and the inhabitants thereof, and for the protection of property therein." In addition to these important powers the council is further authorized, in its discretion, to order the suspension or removal for cause of any non-elective officer by two-thirds vote of all the members, to provide for the care of the poor, the sick and the insane, to purchase, lease and, with the approval of the provincial governor, to sell or mortgage the property of the municipality, to employ attorneys for the defence of the municipality, to provide for the establishment of certain public institutions, such as markets, public stables, bathing establishments, wharves, municipal cemeteries and ferries, and to fix reasonable fees for the use of the same, to provide for the establishment and maintenance of special and provisional institutions of learning, to construct and maintain water works, to license, tax or prohibit cock fighting, to license public vehicles, cafés, hotels and other amusements.

The municipal finances are provided for in some detail. The local revenues are devoted entirely to local purposes, and are derived exclusively from the following sources:

1. An *ad valorem* real estate tax of not less than one-fourth of one per cent and not more than one-half of one per cent.
2. A fee for the privilege of fisheries.
3. Fees for certificates of ownership of cattle, rents and profits from municipal property.
4. Licenses or rentals from certain institutions of a quasi-public character established and maintained by private persons.
5. Fees for tuition in the higher or provisional schools.
6. Licenses.
7. Fines.
8. Wagon taxes.

All taxes, licenses and fees are fixed by ordinance, but no octroi taxes are permitted. The proceeds of at least one-fourth of one per cent of the taxes on lands are required to be devoted to the support of free public schools. The municipal treasurer prepares an annual statement of the income and expenditures during the preceding year, which is reported to the provincial treasurer and is further audited by the council. The council prepares the annual budget in the form

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prescribed by the provincial treasurer, the latter approves the budget if the estimated expenses are within the probable receipts. All taxes and other revenues of the municipality are collected by the provincial treasurer and transmitted to the municipal treasurer. For the purpose of taxation the municipal president, treasurer and a deputy of the provincial treasurer are constituted a board known as the municipal board of assessors. Appeals from this board are taken to a provincial board.

The Provincial Government Act provides for an admirably arranged system of provinces, which dovetail into the municipal system. The provinces are corporate bodies with the usual powers to acquire, control and convey property. The principal officers are the governor, secretary, treasurer, supervisor and fiscal or attorney. The governor is chosen by a convention of all the municipal councilors in the province, the election being subject to the approval of the central government. The provincial secretary, treasurer, supervisor and attorney are appointed and removed by the central government. The governor is the chief executive of the province. He enforces the sentences of the courts, controls the local police, suspends municipal officers, presides over the provincial board, visits each municipality once every six months, hears complaints against the conduct of executive officers of the municipality, controls the provincial jail, employs such deputies and assistants as are necessary to the discharge of his duties and fixes their salaries.

The provincial secretary records the governor's acts, is custodian of all provincial records and documents, and performs the duties of governor during the absence of the latter. The provincial treasurer is the chief financial officer of the province; he superintends the appraisal and assessment of real estate in all the municipalities of the province, directs the collection of taxes levied by the central, provincial and municipal governments respectively, appoints deputies and clerks, acts as collector of internal revenues for the province, is custodian of the provincial funds and reports annually to the insular treasurer.

The provincial supervisor directs the construction, repair and maintenance of roads, bridges and ferries within the province, except those within the inhabited portions of the municipalities. He determines which highways shall be supported by the municipal government and which by the provincial government; and is also charged with the construction and repair of public buildings belonging to the provincial government, awards contracts with the approval of the provincial board and reports monthly upon the condition of the roads to the latter board. The provincial fiscal is the legal adviser of the

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provincial government and represents that government in all suits to which it is a party. The fiscal is also the adviser of the council and president of each municipality within the province, and acts as district attorney in prosecuting criminals. The fiscal is under the supervision of the insular attorney-general and reports to the latter officer. The governor, the treasurer and the supervisor constitute the provincial board, with power to levy provincial taxes on real estate, provide for court houses and jails, review action of the provincial supervisor in highway matters, direct the opening of a suit in behalf of the provincial government, direct the issue of warrants upon the provincial treasurer for certain purposes, provide for the appointment of subordinate employees under the various provincial officers and fix their salaries. All repairs or construction of roads or buildings involving a greater expenditure than five hundred dollars must be allotted to the lowest responsible bidder after due advertisement for bids. The insular treasurer is empowered to make inspections of the books and papers of provincial treasurers.

The system as outlined above has been applied in many different portions of the archipelago with results which have been variously estimated by different observers. The points which are most open to discussion in the plan of government presented are the lack of distinction between rural and urban districts, the extensive powers given to the municipal council, the division of responsibility for appointments and removals between the president and the council of the municipality and the method of choosing the provincial governor.

It will be doubted by many whether the more sparsely populated portions of the country should not be given a separate rural form of organization; the rural sections of Spanish dependencies generally have been deprived of most of the municipal services for which they have none the less been compelled to pay taxes. Many of these sections are so sparsely populated as to present little basis for a highly developed form of government. They are incapable of bearing any great burden of taxation and might therefore be given a district form of government with perhaps appointed officials. The most urgent need of the rural sections is the school and the road. After this comes the necessity for an efficient rural police, sanitary regulations and a judicial organization.

In the Philippines we are confronted by a double necessity: First, the establishment of an efficient administrative system, and, second, the necessity of teaching the people to govern themselves. At the present time an efficient administration is more important than self-government, it therefore should be accomplished, even at some sacrifice of the elective principle. When the Filipinos come to learn local

self-government, nothing will be more stimulating than the example of a model system of administration even though carried on by appointed officials. If we are squarely placed before the alternative of choosing for the Philippines a good road system or a liberal plan of local self-government we must inevitably decide in favor of good roads. The same reasoning will apply to schools and to all the other branches of local activity. From this point of view much might be said in favor of giving both the president of the municipality and the governor of the province more power than they at present exercise and of conferring the power to appoint these officers upon the central government rather than making them elective. From similar motives it might appear advantageous to give the president and governor respectively the entire control over appointments and removals in their respective administrative districts. The policy of requiring the consent of a collective body to the selection of administrative officials is open to grave objections. This policy has been adopted in the United States almost universally and almost universally it has resulted in the dictation of appointments by the collective body, whether it be the national senate, the state senate or the city council. It is to be regretted that this feature was embodied in the local government of the Philippines. On the whole, however, the plan is one which should work admirably in those sections of the archipelago where stable conditions have actually been restored. The system adopted will doubtless form the foundation for a permanent spirit of local autonomy which, under favorable conditions, should result in the rapid education of the people in things political.

V. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

Recent Movements of Prices in the United States.—The question is asked on every hand: Is American prosperity at an end? Is it indeed true that the United States, having reached the zenith of good times, must now descend into the valley of industrial depression? Prosperity is largely a question of prices. As long as the prices of commodities are well sustained, business men can meet their obligations when due, corporation earnings continue large, the values of securities, although they may individually decline, are not generally and seriously affected; a ready sale is found for all products, and both employment and wages are well sustained. These favorable conditions, taken together, make up what we know as prosperity. The following table of export prices, compiled from the financial tables of the Monthly Summary of Finance and Commerce for July, 1901, throws some light on the industrial situation:

MONTHLY AVERAGE EXPORT PRICES OF PRINCIPAL DOMESTIC ARTICLES.

	Unit.	1900.		1901.		
		July.	Oct.	Jan.	April.	July.
1. Breadstuffs—Corn	Bu.	\$0 473	\$0 469	\$0 441	\$0 494	\$0 506
2. Wheat	Bu.	741	723	712	738	728
3. " Flour	Bbl.	3 89	3 71	3 70	3 74	3 64
4. Coal—Anthracite	Ton.	4 17	4 29	4 50	4 55	4 43
5. Bituminous	Ton.	2 30	2 51	2 29	2 46	2 43
6. Copper	Lb.	164	164	164	163	166
7. Cotton—Raw	Lb.	098	099	097	085	087
8. Manufactured (colored cloths)	Yd.	061	059	058	056	052
9. Pig Iron	Ton.	18 44	14 55	14 56	14 70	16 62
10. Refined Petroleum	Gal.	070	063	063	068	062
11. Fresh Beef	Lb.	089	092	092	090	090
12. Bacon	Lb.	078	081	084	091	088
13. Woods (boards, deals and planks)	M. ft.	17 96	18 78	17 55	16 99	17 75

The evidence of this table does not indicate that industrial depression threatens the United States. Seven out of the twelve articles selected to form the basis of our comparison, show an advance in price during the first six months of the present year, and the rise in pig iron has been considerable, showing that a large amount of new

construction is still going forward. If the course of commodity prices is any guide to a forecast of the future, the industrial position of the United States is still secure.

Bradstreet's index number, made up from the prices of 105 commodities, shows indeed some decline from the high level reached in 1899, but remains much above the figures of 1898 and the first six months of 1899. The figures are as follows:

Date.	Index Number.	Date.	Index Number.
July 1, 1897	66,937	October 1, 1899 . . .	86,796
October 1, 1897	73,277	January 1, 1900 . . .	90,971
January 1, 1898	74,184	April 1, 1900	91,175
April 1, 1898	73,586	July 1, 1900	86,815
July 1, 1898	75,570	October 1, 1900 . . .	87,757
October 1, 1898	76,562	January 1, 1901 . . .	84,873
January 1, 1899	77,819	April 1, 1901	83,663
April 1, 1899	79,086	August 1, 1901 . . .	84,396
July 1, 1899	80,818		. . .

It may be seen from this table that on August 1, 1901, wholesale prices were 20.7 per cent higher than on July 1, 1897; 7.8 per cent higher than on January 1, 1899; 4.2 per cent higher than on July 1, 1899, and only 7.4 per cent lower than on April 1, 1900, which was the highest point reached.

Federal Industrial Commissions Report on Trusts.—The Industrial Commission has prepared for transmission to Congress, in December, a critical review of the evidence presented before it by a number of representatives of the leading industrial combinations in the United States on different phases of the trust question.

The following are the more important of the conclusions drawn by the commission:

1. Excessive competition is the chief cause of the formation of industrial combinations.
2. The protection tariff has not been an important factor in their formation.
3. The important savings effected by consolidation are as follows:
 - a. The adaptation of supply to demand by the regulation of production.
 - b. The advantage of carrying smaller stocks of goods, saving interest, insurance and storage.
 - c. The possibility of running factories full time often resulting in a saving of 4 to 8 per cent over the cost of production when running half time.

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- d.* Standardizing of a large product and reduction of the number of styles of goods, both causing a reduction in producing cost.
 - e.* Larger use of special machinery, and more careful adaptation of workmen and superintendents to the departments for which they are best suited.
 - f.* Important savings, in the cost of selling and advertising, in smaller losses from bad debts, and in the saving of cross freights.
4. The capitalization of the United States Steel Corporation exclusive of the Carnegie and Rockefeller companies included \$389,918,111 issued for good will.
 5. There is no evidence that the combinations have made arbitrary advances in the prices of raw materials.
 6. None of the combinations has acquired an absolute monopoly in its line of industry. The United States Steel Corporation, for example, controls between 65 and 75 per cent of the steel industry of the United States.
 7. The testimony of substantially all of the combination men is to the same effect—that unless a combination has either some natural monopoly of the raw material, or is protected by a patent, or possibly has succeeded in developing some very popular style or trade-marks or brands, any attempt to put prices at above competitive rates will result eventually in failure, although it may be temporarily successful. On the other hand, by securing control of trade-marks, or by creating a demand for certain brands through skillful advertising, very material advances in prices may often be made.
 8. The charge has been very frequently made that the great combinations are able at times to follow their smaller competitors into local markets, to make prices very low there in order to ruin their rivals, then to recoup themselves by higher prices in the general market. Such a course of procedure is generally looked upon as an unfair method of competition. So far as evidence has been taken before the commission, it does not seem that this practice has been followed by the steel manufacturers.
 9. In regard to concessions in export prices the commission says: "It has been frequently stated that the prices of goods for export are considerably lower than those for the home markets. This is charged against the combinations as a business practice that is not justifiable, and in some instances it is claimed that the protective tariff aids the trust in this practice. On the other hand, not merely the managers of the combinations, but other

business men, claim that the practice is justifiable on sound business reasons in the interest of the laborers and consumers as well as of the manufacturers, and that it is one that is practically universal in all countries. . . .

"Mr. Butler, an iron merchant in Chicago, says that this principle of selling goods for export lower than to home consumers applies not merely to foreign sales, but is practically a universal custom even within the home market. A manufacturer in Chicago, for example, will make, relatively speaking, lower prices to the purchaser in Omaha than to one in Peoria, to one in Denver than to one in Omaha, and to one in San Francisco than to one in Denver. The reason is . . . the fact that every dealer is anxious to extend his sales, and will make whatever sacrifices are necessary to get the market so long as he is not working at an absolute loss. The further he goes, the greater his expenses are and the greater the pressure there is on him; consequently the lower are his prices."

10. In regard to labor unions and wages, the commission finds that most of the combinations have maintained the relations with labor organizations which already existed. The commission also finds that while wages have been raised by the combinations in many instances, it is impossible to say that the advance has not been caused by general trade conditions independent of any peculiar form of organization.

11. The opinion of the commission on the best remedies for the "trust evil," is expressed as follows:

"Probably most of the witnesses think that something could be gained in the way of greater publicity regarding the business of the combinations, but some of the witnesses speak distinctly against any special degree of publicity."

This outcome of the prolonged efforts of the commission is sufficiently non-committal to satisfy the most exacting.

American Invasion of Europe.—One of the points of advantage in international competition upon which Americans have always prided themselves, is the cheaper and more efficient transportation facilities which this country enjoys as compared with Europe. This applies to steam railways but more especially to urban transportation. American transportation development has run far ahead of the best achievements of Europe. It is of great interest to note, therefore, that European transportation methods are likely to be brought up to the American standards by American capital and American initiative. Mr. Yerkes' operations in London are already familiar. Mr. George Westinghouse has interested himself in a project to consolidate, extend and re-equip

the tram lines of Paris. Pittsburg capitalists are seeking to obtain control of the streets of St. Petersburg, and most astonishing of all, an American syndicate has recently made a responsible proposition to the board of the Southeastern Railway of England, offering to take over and operate the line on a forty year lease, to guarantee three per cent on the capital and to increase this guarantee to five per cent during the term of the lease. This offer was coupled with an agreement to deposit a bond of \$5,000,000. The syndicate making the offer expects to make a substantial return over this guarantee by introducing American methods of management.

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ABBREVIATIONS.—In the Index the following abbreviations have been used : *pop.*, principal paper by the person named ; *com.*, communication, by the person named ; *p. n.*, personal note on the person named ; *b.*, review of book of which the person named is the author ; *r.*, review by the person named.

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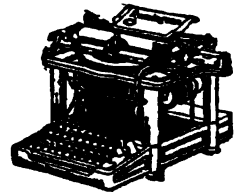
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